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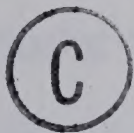
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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
THE POWER AND THE GLORY:
THE SYMBOLIC VISION AND SOCIAL POLITICAL DYNAMIC
OF JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES

by



HEATHER DENISE HARDEN BOTTING

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled THE POWER AND THE GLORY: THE SYMBOLIC VISION AND SOCIAL POLITICAL DYNAMIC OF JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES submitted by HEATHER DENISE HARDEN BOTTING in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation will test the potential for an analysis of the relationship of power which inheres between man and society within the parameters of a highly specified socio-cultural system. Jehovah's Witnesses comprise a system appropriate to this type of analysis because the form and action of a sectarian group offers greater visibility and higher resolution in both ideological and sociological spheres necessary for such an examination. Accordingly, this dissertation constitutes an analysis of the power relations within the Jehovah's Witness movement as they relate to the relationships of power which develop out of the interaction of symbol and social practice.

The analysis includes specific focus on a "microsociety" of individuals within the movement, showing the levels of involvement, commitment and "status" within the sect attained by each person. The history of the sect is examined from an emic as well as etic perspective, and the "symbols of significance" to the sect are presented along with the mechanism used by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society to present and occasionally manipulate the symbols for potential converts and its membership. Some attention is also given to the process of disillusionment by which one man's "truth" becomes another's "lie" as Witnesses increasingly challenge the "authoritative voice."

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

ABU	<i>Aid to Bible Understanding</i> [1969] 1971
ASIB	<i>All Scripture is Inspired of God and Beneficial</i> 1963
BGHF	" <i>Babylon The Great Has Fallen!</i> " <i>God's Kingdom Rules</i> 1963
BMLG	<i>Blood, Medicine and the Law of God</i> 1961
DMGHE	<i>Did Man Get Here By Evolution or Creation?</i> 1967
IGWC	<i>Is There A God Who Cares?</i> 1975
JWDP	<i>Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose</i> 1959
JWTC	<i>Jehovah's Witnesses in the Twentieth Century</i> 1978
LEFSG	<i>Life Everlasting in Freedom of the Sons of God</i> 1966
NWT	<i>New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures</i> [1950] [1961] 1981
OKPD	<i>Organization for Kingdom-Preaching and Disciple-Making</i> 1972
PLPR	<i>From Paradise Lost to Paradise Regained</i> 1958
TBE	<i>The Bible Examiner</i> 1981-1982
TFMG	" <i>Then Is Finished the Mystery of God</i> " 1969
TIGL	<i>Things in Which It Is Impossible for God to Lie</i> 1965
TMSG	<i>Theocratic Ministry School Guidebook</i> 1971
USHH	<i>Unseen Spirits -- Do They Help Us? Or Do They Harm Us?</i> 1978
YWBD	<i>Your Will Be Done on Earth</i> 1958

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS (continued)

YWLF	<i>Your Word Is a Lamp to My Foot</i> 1971
YYGB	<i>Your Youth: Getting the Best Out of It</i> 1976

CHAPTER ONE

POWER AND SYMBOL IN THE WORLD
OF JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES

I

Introduction

Within the discipline of anthropology, exhaustive research has been conducted in the area of the institutions of society as mechanisms of culture through which people "act" in order to achieve meaningful and ordered relationships with their fellow men and their perceived universe. Only recently has research focused more explicitly on the relationships of power which obtain between man, society and symbols as an integrated thematic whole. As Abner Cohen wrote:

In social anthropology we are interested in symbols mainly insofar as they affect and are affected by power relations. In other words we study the symbolic as it is structured, or systematised, not by a special logic inherent in it, but by the dynamics of interaction between man and society (1969: 226).

The central problem in establishing a type of analysis which can give voice to the role of both the objectively verifiable social aspects and the subjectively apprehended symbolic aspects of human action, within a

cultural setting, is essentially one of perspective and, above all, of *balance*. In order to achieve a balance between the respective roles of society, man, and symbol it is necessary to examine the roles of the institutional "authority" vested in leaders, the corollary expectations and responsibilities of the "followers," and the shared "purpose" of such authority in contributing to "the realization of the ideal in the lives of men" (Jenkins 1976: 37). In carrying the concerns of Cohen into the area of authority, Iredell Jenkins noted,

If this balance is too much disturbed, and this pattern disrupted, then authority as such vanishes, to be replaced by despotism, anarchy, or apathy. The essential point to be stressed here is that the three elements that ground this relationship are all necessary and are equally significant. Authority cannot be established on the basis of any one, or even of two of them. All must be effectively present, or the relationship collapses (Jenkins 1976: 37).

This dissertation will test the potential for an analysis of the relationship of power which inheres between man and society within the parameters of a highly specified socio-cultural system. Jehovah's Witnesses comprise a system appropriate to this type of analysis because the form and action of a sectarian group offers greater visibility and higher resolution in both the ideological and sociological spheres necessary for such an examination. The selection of a sectarian

group is appropriate to this study because the boundaries of membership are distinct. Furthermore, the type of social-political institution constituted by Jehovah's Witnesses in their quest for religious significance is familiar in other social institutions, and an analysis of the Witnesses has broad application in the general study of institutional dynamic; for while the form and stated purpose of institutions may vary, one may anticipate that the processes involved in the exercise of authority as it seeks to maintain co-ordinated human action aimed at the achievement of a shared "goal" or "purpose" would be similar whether the institution be political, religious or economic in perspective. Accordingly, this dissertation will constitute an analysis of the power relations within the Jehovah's Witness movement as they relate to the relationships of power which develop out of the interaction of symbol and social practice. Having been raised a Jehovah's Witness myself, and having spent most of my life associating with the sect (which James Penton recently described as "a group which insulates itself from the larger society and claims to 'have the Truth'"), I am in a unique position to conduct such an analysis, having experienced the relationships of power operating on and about me (*TBE* January-February 1982: 23).

Other than Watchtower publications, the literature on Jehovah's Witnesses falls into six broad categories: autobiographical treatises (both negative and positive), institutional histories, doctrinal disputations, sociological studies, psychological studies, and the more specific treatment of the role of the Witnesses in civil liberties of various countries, including Canada, Malawi and the U. S. S. R. Most of the autobiographical treatments can be dismissed as heavily biased either against the Witnesses (as in the case of W. J. Schnell's *Thirty Years a Watchtower Slave* 1956) or in favour (A. H. Macmillan's *Faith on the March* 1957), although a few writers in this category have attempted to take a balanced view only occasionally coloured with bitterness (Barbara Harrison's *Visions of Glory: A History and a Memory of Jehovah's Witnesses* 1978). More specifically historical treatises include Timothy White's *A People for His Name* (1967) and Herbert Stroup's early social history *The Jehovah's Witnesses* (1945). The best sociological study on the Witnesses is Alan Rogerson's *Millions Now Living Will Never Die* (1969), and psychological treatises include articles by Joseph Zygmunt ("Prophetic Failures and Chiliastic Identity," *Religion American Style*, 1981) and Havor Montague ("The Pessimistic Sect's Influence on the Mental Health of Its Members: The Case of Jehovah's Witnesses," *Social Compass*, 1977). Probably the most

devastating doctrinal disputation published to date is Karl Burganger's *The Watchtower Society and Absolute Chronology* (1981) and several articles in the publication *The Bible Examiner*. By contrast, the treatment of the contribution of Jehovah's Witnesses to civil liberties in various countries has been decidedly positive, as in James Penton's *Jehovah's Witnesses in Canada: Champions of Freedom of Speech and Worship* (1976) and Amnesty International's monograph *Persecution of Jehovah's Witnesses in Malawi* (1975). Up to now, no scholarship has focussed on specifically anthropological concerns as they affect or are affected by Jehovah's Witnesses, and it is these concerns -- especially the interaction of the symbolic vision of the Witnesses with their social political dynamic -- that is the subject of this treatise.

A Christian sect is by definition a group which emphasizes a particular aspect of the Gospel tradition to such an extent that it becomes "the distinctive 'truth'" of that group. Within the sect the Gospel becomes subordinated to the particular "truth" which marks the group as distinctive, and becomes a "testing truth" which is used to determine whether other people professing Christianity are "genuinely Christian" (Brinsmead 1981: 15). The sect remains isolated from other Christian traditions

by rejecting the fellowship of "outsiders" unless they come to subscribe to the "distinctive doctrinal emphasis" operative within the group. In its most extreme expression, the sect makes claim to itself as "the one true church which has 'The Truth,'" and generally incorporates demands not of faith alone but "of *proof* of faith through prescribed action" (Brinsmead 1981: 15). The Witnesses, for example, reject the companionship of individuals who do not share their specific vision as outlined in Watchtower publications, and of those who do share it they demand active preaching service and total obedience to social imperatives concerning personal behaviour as a "test" of worthiness.

A sect is also generally understood to be a voluntary organization that is usually short-lived. Within Jehovah's Witnesses the sectarian quality of the group has been sustained through the "test of active preaching" or prosyletizing which brings in, voluntarily, new adult members. Since the Witnesses are faced with the need to enculturate those children who have been introduced into the community at a young age, they have developed an educational and disciplinary capability, and have sought to make their fundamental doctrines clear, as is demonstrated in the following chart (See Figure 1). Within the context of this shared belief system, the power and authority of the collective unity is imposed upon the entire membership:

FIGURE 1: WHAT JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES BELIEVE

BELIEF	SCRIPTURAL REASON	BELIEF	SCRIPTURAL REASON
Bible is God's Word and is truth	2 Tim. 3:16, 17; 2 Pet. 1:20, 21; John 17:17	Adamic death will cease	1 Cor. 15:26; Rev. 21:4; Isa. 25:8; 1 Cor. 15:54
Bible is more reliable than tradition God's name is Jehovah	Matt. 15:3; Col. 2:8 Ps. 83:18; Isa. 26:4; 42:8, AS; Ex. 6:3 Matt. 3:17; John 8:42; 14:28; 20:17; 1 Cor. 11:3; 15:28	Only a little flock of 144,000 go to heaven and rule with Christ	Luke 12:32; Rev. 14:1, 3; 1 Cor. 15:40-53; Rev. 5:9, 10
Christ is God's Son and is inferior to him	Col. 1:15; Rev. 3:14 Gal. 3:13; Acts 5:30 Matt. 20:28; 1 Tim. 2:5, 6; Titus 2:14; 1 Pet. 2:24	The 144,000 are born again as spiritual sons of God	1 Pet. 1:23; John 3:3; Rev. 7:3, 4 Jer. 31:31; Heb. 8:10-13
Christ was first of God's creations Christ died on a stake, not a cross Christ's human life was paid as a ransom for obedient humans	Rom. 6:10; Heb. 9:25-28 1 Pet. 3:18; Rom. 6:9; Rev. 1:17, 18 John 14:19; Matt. 24:3; 2 Cor. 5:16; Ps. 110:1, 2	New covenant made with spiritual Israel	Eph. 2:20; Isa. 28:16; Matt. 21:42
Christ's one sacrifice was sufficient Christ was raised from the dead as an immortal spirit person Christ's presence is in spirit	Isa. 9:6, 7; 11:1-5; Dan. 7:13, 14; Matt. 6:10 Ps. 72:1-4; Rev. 7:9, 10, 13-17; 21:3, 4 Eccl. 1:4; Isa. 45:18; Ps. 78:69 Rev. 16:14, 16; Zeph. 3:8; Dan. 2:44; Isa. 34:2 Matt. 25:41-46; 2 Thess. 1:6-9	Christ's congregation is built upon himself	Deut. 18:10-12; Gal. 5:19-21; Lev. 19:31 1 John 5:19; 2 Cor. 4:4; John 12:31
Kingdom under Christ will rule earth in righteousness and peace	Ps. 72:1-4; Rev. 7:9, 10, 13-17; 21:3, 4 Eccl. 1:4; Isa. 45:18; Ps. 78:69 Rev. 16:14, 16; Zeph. 3:8; Dan. 2:44; Isa. 34:2 Matt. 25:41-46; 2 Thess. 1:6-9	Prayers must be directed only to Jehovah through Christ	2 Cor. 6:14-17; 11:13-15; Gal. 5:9; Deut. 7:1-5
Kingdom brings ideal living conditions to earth	John 3:16; 10:27, 28; 17:3; Mark 10:29, 30 Matt. 7:13, 14; Eph. 4:4, 5 Matt. 24:3-14; 2 Tim. 3:1-5; Luke 17:26-30 Rom. 5:12; 6:23 Ezek. 18:4; Eccl. 9:10; Ps. 6:5; 146:4; John 11:11-14	Images must not be used in worship	Jas. 4:4; 1 John 2:15; John 15:19; 17:16 Matt. 22:20, 21; 1 Pet. 2:12; 4:15
Earth will never be destroyed or depopulated	Rev. 16:14, 16; Zeph. 3:8; Dan. 2:44; Isa. 34:2 Matt. 25:41-46; 2 Thess. 1:6-9	Spiritism must be shunned	Gen. 9:3, 4; Lev. 17:14; Acts 15:28, 29
God will destroy present system of things in the battle at Har- Magedon	John 3:16; 10:27, 28; 17:3; Mark 10:29, 30 Matt. 7:13, 14; Eph. 4:4, 5 Matt. 24:3-14; 2 Tim. 3:1-5; Luke 17:26-30 Rom. 5:12; 6:23 Ezek. 18:4; Eccl. 9:10; Ps. 6:5; 146:4; John 11:11-14	Satan is invisible ruler of world	1 Cor. 6:9, 10; Heb. 13:4; 1 Tim. 3:2; Prov. 5:1-23
Wicked will be eternally destroyed	Job 14:13, Dy; Rev. 20:13, 14, AV (margin) 1 Cor. 15:20-22; John 5:28, 29; 11:25, 26	A Christian must have no part in inter- faith movements	Deut. 5:15; Ex. 31:13; Rom. 10:4; Gal. 4:9, 10; Col. 2:16, 17 Matt. 23:8-12; 20:25-27; Job 32:21, 22
People God approves will receive eter- nal life	Isa. 45:12; Gen. 1:27 1 Pet. 2:21; Heb. 10:7; John 4:34; 6:38 Mark 1:9, 10; John 3:23; Acts 19:4, 5 Rom. 10:10; Heb. 13:15; Isa. 43:10-12	All human laws that do not conflict with God's laws should be obeyed	Deut. 5:15; Ex. 31:13; Rom. 10:4; Gal. 4:9, 10; Col. 2:16, 17 Matt. 23:8-12; 20:25-27; Job 32:21, 22
There is only one road to life	Isa. 45:12; Gen. 1:27 1 Pet. 2:21; Heb. 10:7; John 4:34; 6:38 Mark 1:9, 10; John 3:23; Acts 19:4, 5 Rom. 10:10; Heb. 13:15; Isa. 43:10-12	Taking blood into body through mouth or veins violates God's laws	Isa. 45:12; Gen. 1:27 1 Pet. 2:21; Heb. 10:7; John 4:34; 6:38 Mark 1:9, 10; John 3:23; Acts 19:4, 5 Rom. 10:10; Heb. 13:15; Isa. 43:10-12
We are now in the 'time of the end'	Isa. 45:12; Gen. 1:27 1 Pet. 2:21; Heb. 10:7; John 4:34; 6:38 Mark 1:9, 10; John 3:23; Acts 19:4, 5 Rom. 10:10; Heb. 13:15; Isa. 43:10-12	Bible's laws on morals must be obeyed	Isa. 45:12; Gen. 1:27 1 Pet. 2:21; Heb. 10:7; John 4:34; 6:38 Mark 1:9, 10; John 3:23; Acts 19:4, 5 Rom. 10:10; Heb. 13:15; Isa. 43:10-12
Human death is due to Adam's sin The human soul ceases to exist at death	Isa. 45:12; Gen. 1:27 1 Pet. 2:21; Heb. 10:7; John 4:34; 6:38 Mark 1:9, 10; John 3:23; Acts 19:4, 5 Rom. 10:10; Heb. 13:15; Isa. 43:10-12	Sabbath observance was given only to the Jews and ended with Mosaic law	Isa. 45:12; Gen. 1:27 1 Pet. 2:21; Heb. 10:7; John 4:34; 6:38 Mark 1:9, 10; John 3:23; Acts 19:4, 5 Rom. 10:10; Heb. 13:15; Isa. 43:10-12
Hell is mankind's common grave	Isa. 45:12; Gen. 1:27 1 Pet. 2:21; Heb. 10:7; John 4:34; 6:38 Mark 1:9, 10; John 3:23; Acts 19:4, 5 Rom. 10:10; Heb. 13:15; Isa. 43:10-12	A clergy class and special titles are improper	Isa. 45:12; Gen. 1:27 1 Pet. 2:21; Heb. 10:7; John 4:34; 6:38 Mark 1:9, 10; John 3:23; Acts 19:4, 5 Rom. 10:10; Heb. 13:15; Isa. 43:10-12
Hope for dead is resurrection	Isa. 45:12; Gen. 1:27 1 Pet. 2:21; Heb. 10:7; John 4:34; 6:38 Mark 1:9, 10; John 3:23; Acts 19:4, 5 Rom. 10:10; Heb. 13:15; Isa. 43:10-12	Man did not evolve but was created Christ set example that must be fol- lowed in serving God	Isa. 45:12; Gen. 1:27 1 Pet. 2:21; Heb. 10:7; John 4:34; 6:38 Mark 1:9, 10; John 3:23; Acts 19:4, 5 Rom. 10:10; Heb. 13:15; Isa. 43:10-12
	Isa. 45:12; Gen. 1:27 1 Pet. 2:21; Heb. 10:7; John 4:34; 6:38 Mark 1:9, 10; John 3:23; Acts 19:4, 5 Rom. 10:10; Heb. 13:15; Isa. 43:10-12	Baptism by complete immersion sym- bolizes dedication	Isa. 45:12; Gen. 1:27 1 Pet. 2:21; Heb. 10:7; John 4:34; 6:38 Mark 1:9, 10; John 3:23; Acts 19:4, 5 Rom. 10:10; Heb. 13:15; Isa. 43:10-12
	Isa. 45:12; Gen. 1:27 1 Pet. 2:21; Heb. 10:7; John 4:34; 6:38 Mark 1:9, 10; John 3:23; Acts 19:4, 5 Rom. 10:10; Heb. 13:15; Isa. 43:10-12	Christians must give public testimony to Scriptural truth	Isa. 45:12; Gen. 1:27 1 Pet. 2:21; Heb. 10:7; John 4:34; 6:38 Mark 1:9, 10; John 3:23; Acts 19:4, 5 Rom. 10:10; Heb. 13:15; Isa. 43:10-12

(Jehovah's Witnesses in the Twentieth Century 1978: 13.)

Each year for the past two decades, literally hundreds of thousands of individual "seekers after 'Truth'" have opted for Jehovah's Witnesses as being the religious society offering symbols of significance most consonant with their individual aspirations and visions of man's purpose and destiny. Each year, literally hundreds of thousands of Jehovah's Witnesses -- only marginally fewer than those who opt for the "vision" -- have forsaken the religion which they actively embraced to search for other alternate realities of significance. Currently, nearly two and a quarter million active Jehovah's Witnesses in more than 43,000 congregations, throughout some 200 countries, preaching in almost as many different languages, spend close to four hundred million hours a year distributing more than a billion pieces of literature and conducting regular Bible studies with one and a half million potential converts or unbaptized Witness children, all of whom are themselves brought under pressure either to "preach the good news" or to declare themselves "uninterested" in the vision. The Bible studies are the growth cells of the Organization; each year, a fair percentage of those studying opt for "Jehovah" and "His Organization" as their primary concern, even as

many other Witnesses of longer standing, having examined their religion and found it wanting, opt out of the Organization, intent on finding a new and perhaps (from a personal perspective) more significant vision in the world at large.

As a Jehovah's Witness, I have long had a subjective immersion into the Witnesses' corpus of belief. As an anthropologist, I have sought to examine Jehovah's Witnesses from a more objective perspective in order to come to an understanding of the dynamic of disaffection, as well as attraction, within the Witnesses' worldview. In this dissertation, I have sought to combine what I have learned since childhood within the Organization with what I have learned as a researcher intent on understanding why each year hundreds of thousands of Witnesses opt for an "alternative reality." At first, research was conducted strictly within the confines of the theological system that, for generations, has been my family's heritage; but as my research proceeded, I found that the religious and social system itself could not explain -- could not even acknowledge -- the growing phenomenon of disaffection that is an undoubted "truth" directly affecting the Organization and religious system itself. As a researcher, it became increasingly imperative to

seek explanations in the various reactions of each generation of Witnesses. It became apparent that a growing number from each generation was joining the swelling ranks of the apathetic, the disassociated, the "disfellowshipped" (excommunicated) and the "fence-sitters." Why?

The Governing Body of Jehovah's Witnesses have presented explanations as to why some "fall away from the Truth," but the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society has never presented a rationale for such a surfeit of heterodox thought as seems to exist at the fringes their Organization. As shall be demonstrated shortly, the Organization has, over the decades, undergone a process of system closure until at present there is no room within the Society for self-scrutiny, for each member of the Governing Body is exclusively concerned with "shepherding" their "sheep" into and through the "sheepfold" of the Organization, out of the "world" in which we all are currently living and safely into the "New World" of God's promise, along well-defined pathways. This is the primary commitment, and a *genuine* one, shared by the Governing Body in the Brooklyn headquarters of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, by elders and overseers, and by the vast majority of active publishers in the religion.

Nonetheless, from a pragmatic, objective perspective, many Witnesses -- as well as onlookers in the world at large -- are curious as to why the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, which as the ideological and administrative centre for Jehovah's Witnesses has for nearly a century purported to be the voice of Jehovah on earth, has suddenly been shaken by a serious rift in the Governing Body itself, mirrored up and down the ranks by a spirit of rebellion that even the most committed Witnesses have called a "test." I have sought to remain detached from the doctrinal imperatives of the advocates or the adversaries of the Society in an attempt to seek the anthropological "truth."

In examining not only Jehovah's Witnesses themselves, but also a burgeoning group of disaffected Witnesses, one may learn something of the process involved in the unravelling of one world order or cultural matrix, and the re-creation of self in a new order as certain individuals create an alternative pattern of concern and action as a "natural outgrowth" of their relationship with the old cultural paradigm. In both the initial "opting for" and the eventual "opting out" of an Organization such as Jehovah's Witnesses, similar processes -- indeed, an almost identical dynamic -- are involved.

II

Key Symbols Within the System

Quoting Victor Frankl, the Witnesses acknowledge: "The striving to find a meaning in one's life is the primary motivational force in man" (*Awake!* 22 October, 1980: 5). In order to appreciate how the Witnesses can command absolute obedience among committed adherents, it is necessary to understand the fundamental symbols which contain and express meaning within the Witnesses' belief system. Faith is the operative factor in the majority of new conversions, but two other factors figure prominently in the retention of conformity among the initiated: fear of failure, and the prospect of reward. The effectiveness of the "carrot and stick" approach to salvation accepted by the adherents to the sect cannot be underestimated, but the fact that the Witnesses actually *believe* that the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society is "Jehovah's Organization" is even more central to understanding their absolute conformity. How does the "Society" keep its adherents in line, and

justify its own critical role within the general scheme of things? The key lies in the central symbols of the sect that are used as the focus of power in defining "reality" and providing the "meaning" behind that reality for the Witnesses.

Paramount among these symbols is the notion of Jehovah himself as an omniscient, omnipresent, omnipotent universal force -- the ultimate power as well as the ultimate concern of the universe whose absence is inconceivable: without Jehovah nothing would exist (*The Watchtower* 1 February 1980: 3-5; and *Awake!* 22 February 1981: 12, see Figure 2 below).

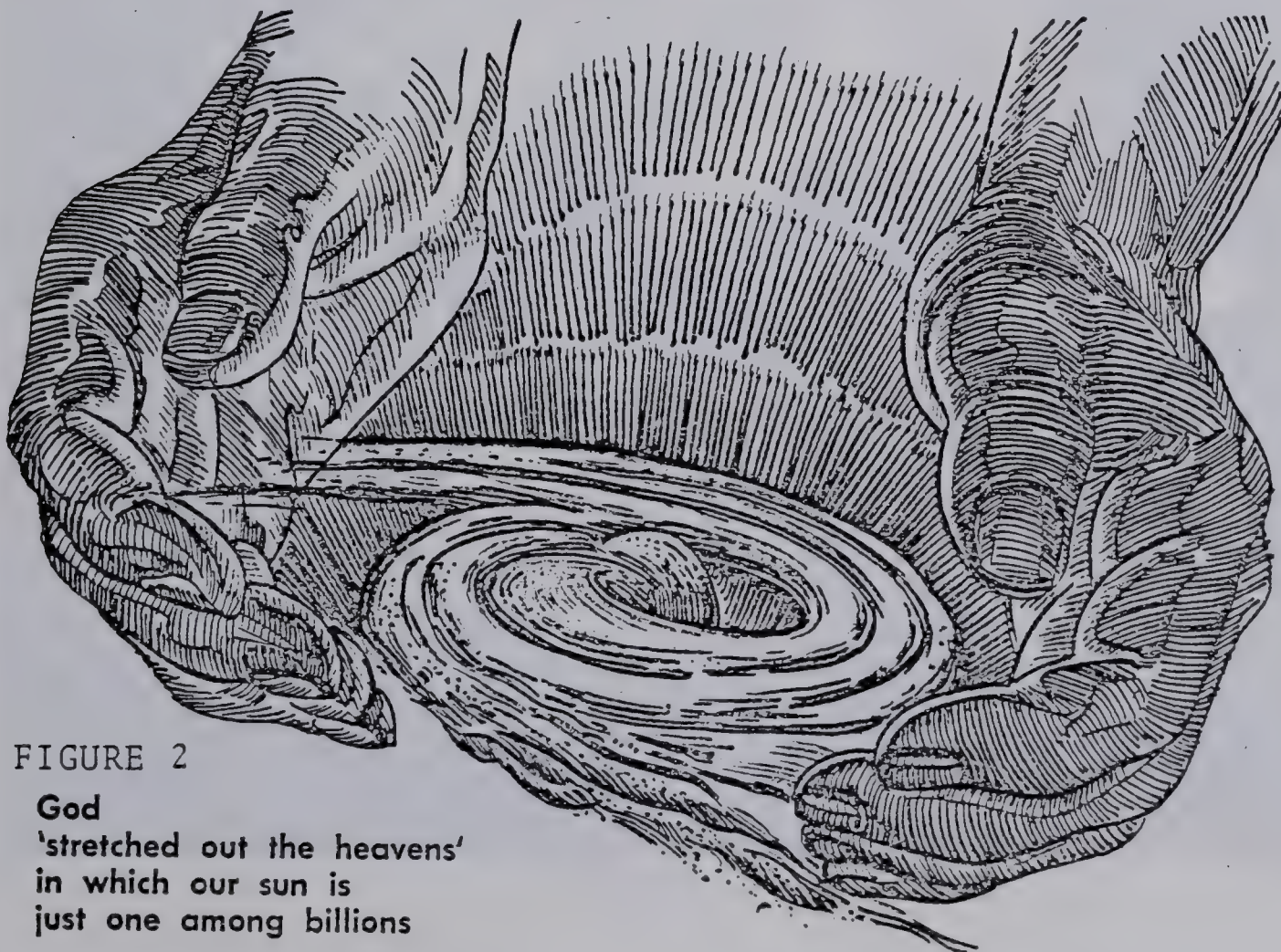


FIGURE 2

God
'stretched out the heavens'
in which our sun is
just one among billions

He is at once loving and vengeful (*The Watchtower* 15 January 1981: 1-10), understanding and vindictive, concerned and dispassionate (*The Watchtower* 1 November 1980: 114). Yet Jehovah is not a God of contradiction. Only one thing is truly known about him: that it is impossible for him to lie (*TIGL passim*). Within the Witness literature, he is never portrayed in images other than as an anonymous "hand" coming from heaven (*The Watchtower* 15 November 1981: 5; and *Awake!* 22 February 1981: 13 see Figure 3 below).

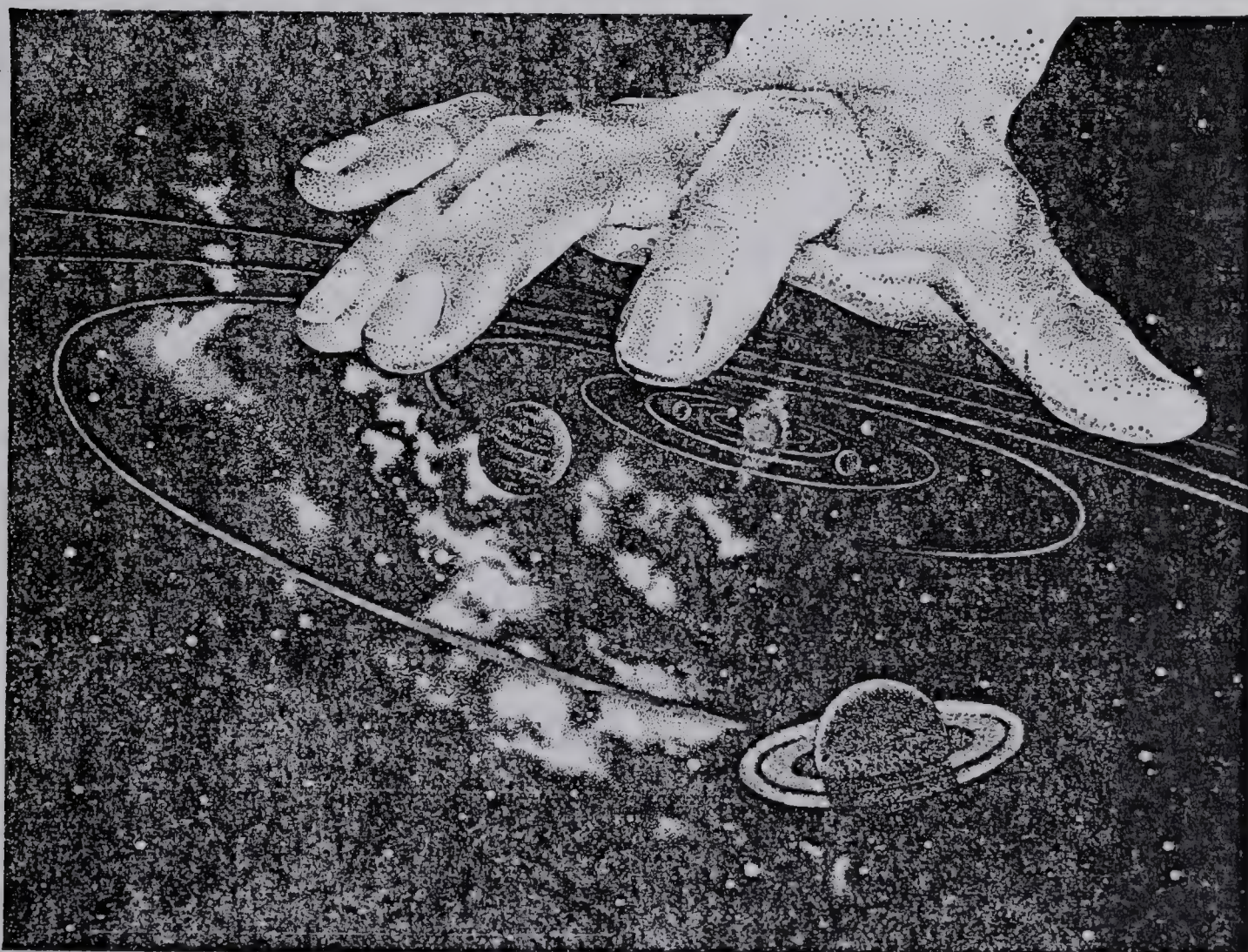


FIGURE 3

Within the imagination, however, Jehovah is conceived of anthropomorphically as a bearded figure whose visage fills the firmament with vaguely Jewish features and stern countenance, a combination of all the patriarchs -- Noah and Abraham and Moses wrapped up in one.

Despite the impossibility of ever seeing or even depicting God, the private vision of Jehovah shared by his devoted Witnesses is ultimately not unlike the familiar painting of God by Michelangelo on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel.

A second key symbol is that of a Jesus Christ devoid of divinity who in Witness literature usually sports the currently accepted (though not "faddish") hair styles; during the fifties and early sixties he was portrayed (as was Adam) as a man clean-shaven with relatively short hair. (See, for example, *The Watchtower* 1 January 1966: 5; and 15 November 1966: 681). Since longer hair and beards have become fashionable, the pictorial representations of Christ have in general kept pace. (See *The Watchtower* 15 November 1979: cover). The being that was to become Christ was the first creation of God, and helped Jehovah form the rest of the universe. Within the literature he is portrayed as an archetypal man -- a perfect human being

sent to earth by God specifically to provide redemption for mankind, in the process giving up his prestigious angelic status. Once he had finished his "earthly course" at age 33½, he gave up his life in a "perfect sacrifice" that redeemed all mankind from the sins and curse of Adam, and returned to Heaven to be at the right hand of God in anticipation of ruling as King of God's Kingdom (*The Watchtower* 15 January 1978: 6; See Figure 4 below).

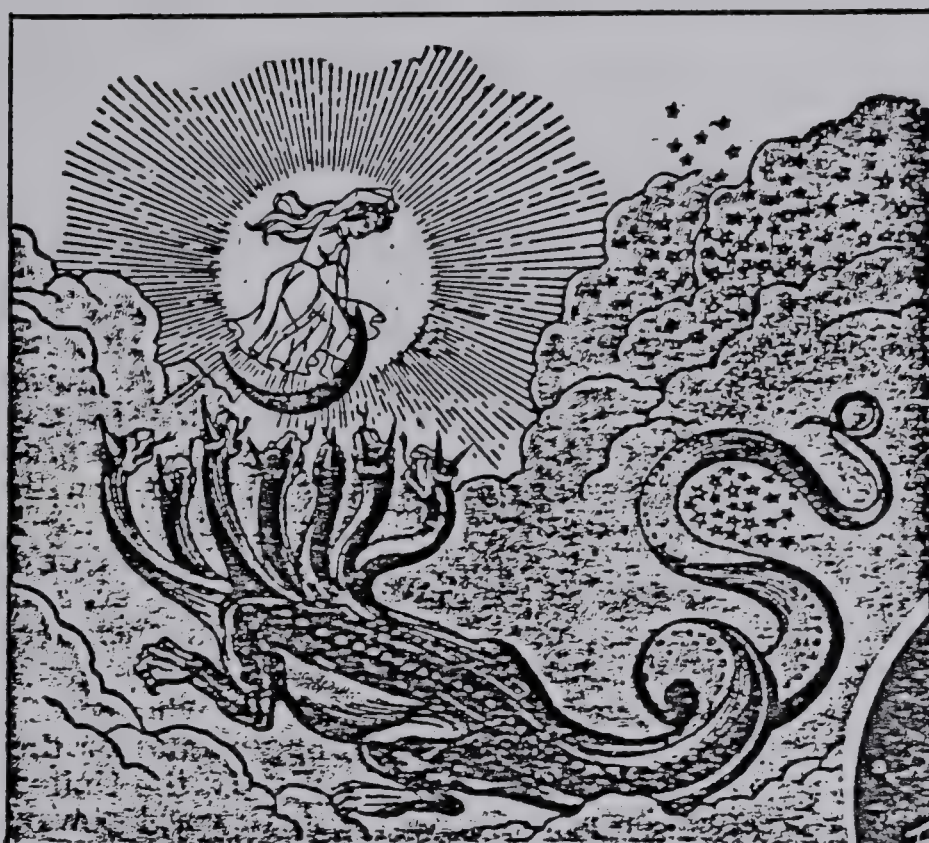


FIGURE 4

Christ led the purge in Heaven that ousted Satan from that sphere of influence to Earth in 1914; and has been monitoring the situation ever since (*The Watchtower*, 15 January 1979: 15; and 1 December 1981 4-8).

A third key symbol is Satan the Devil. He, like God, is never actually illustrated in Witness literature, except in the various forms he is wont to take, including the snake of Eden, and the dragon of *Revelation*. The dragon personally threatens to destroy "the bride of Christ" while his agent, the Great Beast, consisting of worldly political institutions, supports the Harlot Babylon upon its back -- Babylon herself being all false religion (other than Jehovah's Witnesses). Satan the Devil "gave the beast its power and its throne and great authority" (*BGHF* 1963: 551). The dragon attacking "the bride of Christ" and the Beast bearing the harlot Babylon are illustrated in Figure 5 on page 18. Satan inhabits the Witnesses' imaginations in anthropomorphic form as a dark and austere being with shaggy eyebrows, black irises, features somehow compressed into a sinister sneer: a savage and evil personage who happens to roam the world at large, omnipresent and therefore aware of every human action, but not

FIGURE 5



The Dragon, the Enemy of God's Woman Zion



(BGHF 1963: 552).



(BGHF 1963: 577).

Babylon the Great rides the scarlet-colored wild beast

omniscient, not able to read innermost thoughts, and not as powerful (the Witnesses trust) as either Jehovah God or the resurrected Christ, who is predestined to defeat Satan in a cosmic holy war that the Witnesses believe began in 1914 (*The Watchtower* 15 April 1966: 229-242).

The fourth key symbol is the Bride of Christ itself -- the 144,000 men and women resurrected to heavenly glory, preparing to rule with Christ after the battle of Armageddon (*The Watchtower* 1 April 1981: 25). The 144,000 are traditionally conceived of as wearing white robes like choirboys, standing row on row before Jehovah, no single person standing alone. Collectively, they constitute the body of "the bride of Christ" graphically portrayed in Figure 6 on page 20. The selection of this body began with the Apostles of Jesus' day and by 1975 "that number appears to be nearly complete" (*The Watchtower* 1 February 1975: 84). Those who have not yet been transformed to their heavenly destiny constitute "the Remnant" of "the bride of Christ", members of which remain on the earth as faithful Witnesses of Jehovah in the "happy hope" of *heavenly* resurrection, joining Christ after death, "in the twinkling of an eye" (see Figure 7 on page 21).

FIGURE 6



(The Watchtower 15 January 1979: 20).



FIGURE 7

Those having the "happy hope" who die in union with the Lord during his "presence" will not sleep in death. At death they will be raised, changed "in the twinkling of an eye, during the last trumpet."

THE WATCHTOWER — APRIL 1, 1991



From among their numbers the ruling members of The Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society (the Governing Body) are chosen to direct the progress of the earthly kingdom and the gathering of "the great crowd" to populate the paradise to be established under that kingdom on earth. The Governing Body in particular "governs" the "Mother Organization" which will persist upon the face of the earth through the impending war of Armageddon to help establish "the new order of things" under which life in paradise may flourish. The importance of this elite group cannot be underestimated, as indicated in the bold print on the cover of the March 1st, 1982 *Watchtower* which advises the membership to "PUT FAITH in a VICTORIOUS ORGANIZATION." In putting their faith in the "Mother Organization," the Witnesses are relying upon the nurturing qualities of the archetypal nature goddess whose role it is to sustain them. As stated in the July 1st, 1979 issue of *The Watchtower*,

When we look at what has been published by Jehovah's Organization through the pages of *The Watchtower* and other publications for the past century, we find wholesome spiritual food in abundance (28).

In a more recent issue, "the mother" is represented in the traditional imagery of *Revelation* 12 (as depicted in Figure 8 on page 23).

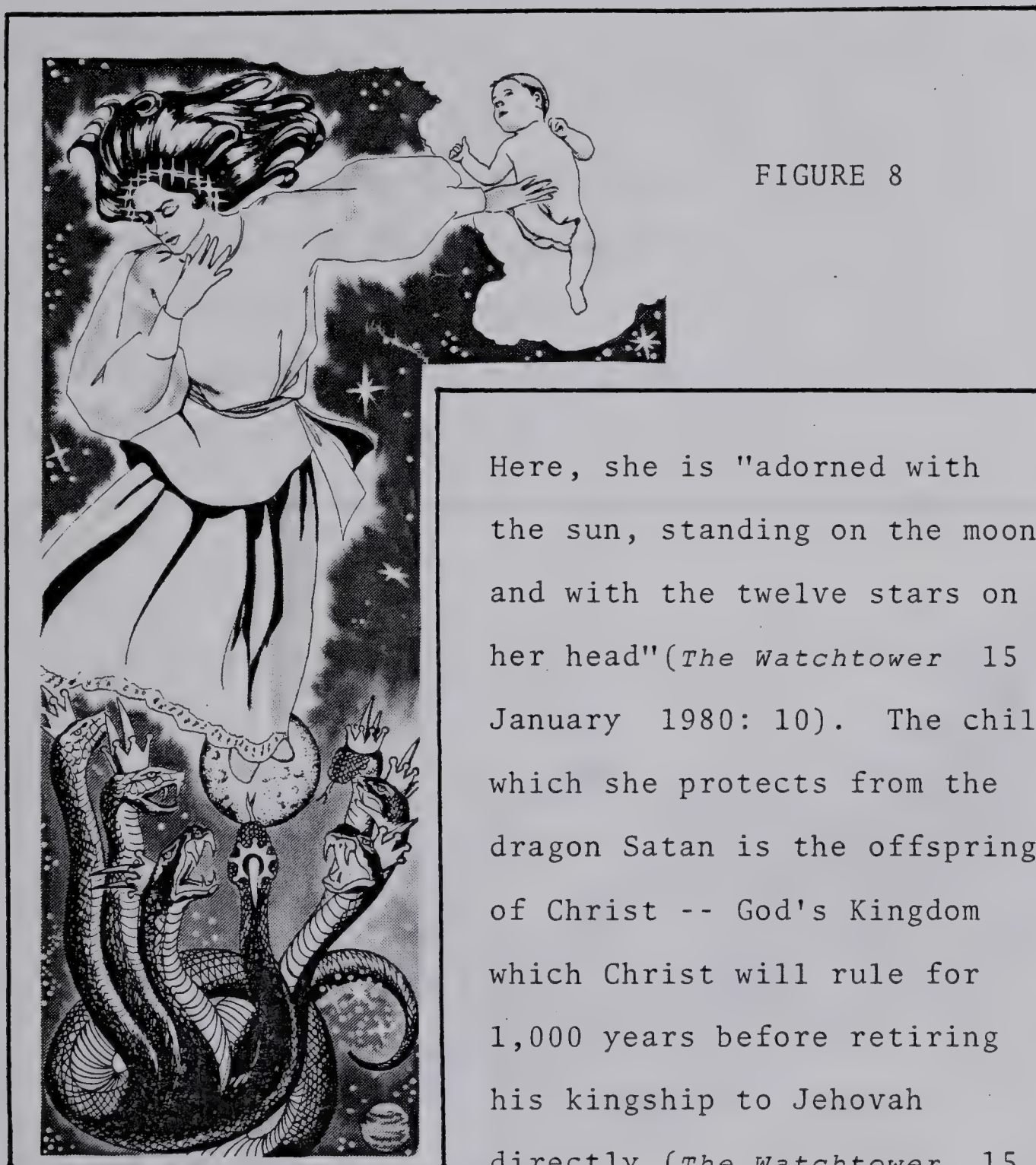


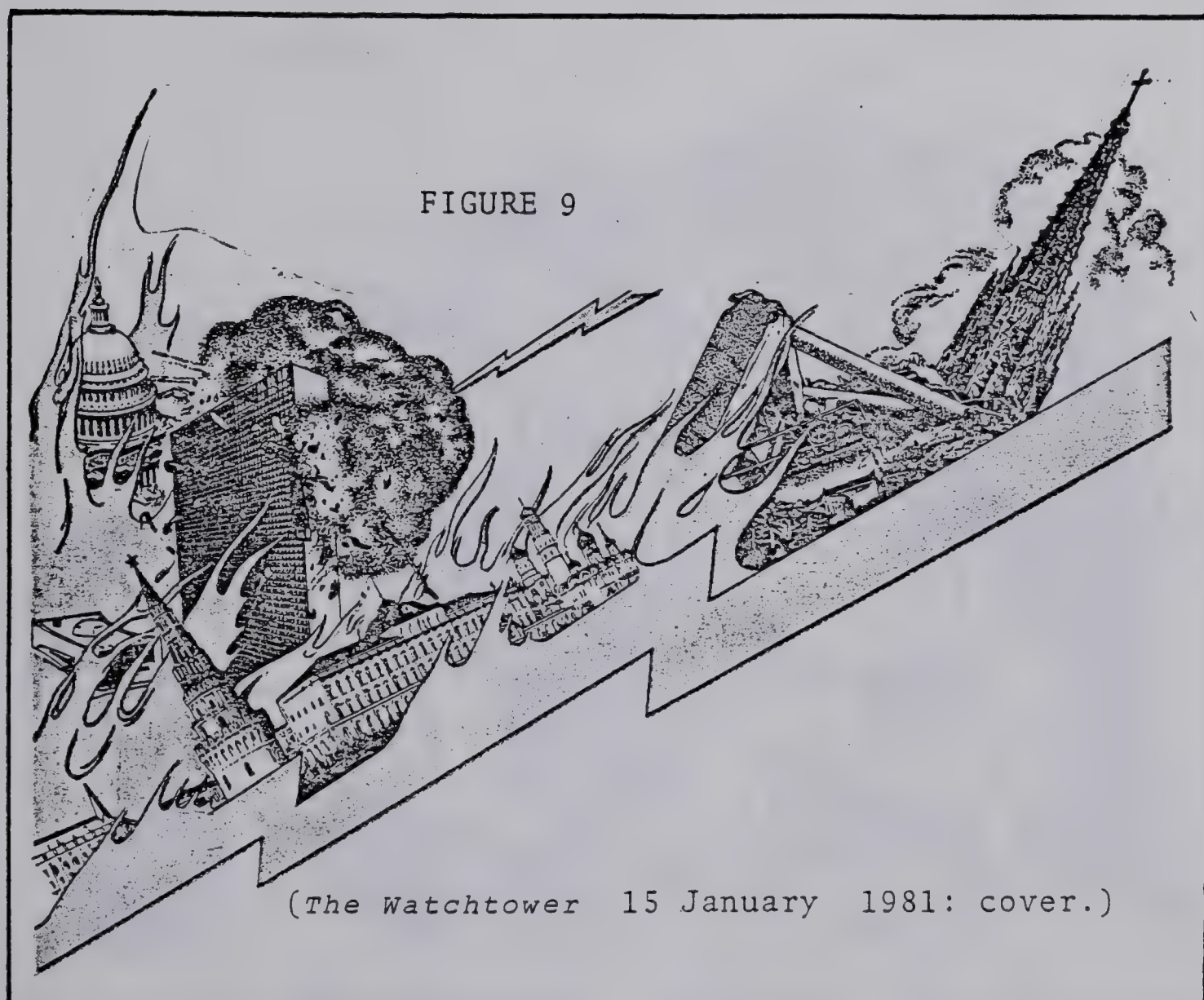
FIGURE 8

Here, she is "adorned with the sun, standing on the moon, and with the twelve stars on her head" (*The Watchtower* 15 January 1980: 10). The child which she protects from the dragon Satan is the offspring of Christ -- God's Kingdom which Christ will rule for 1,000 years before retiring his kingship to Jehovah directly (*The Watchtower* 15

January 1980: 9-15. See also *BGHF* 1963: 552; *PLPR* 1958: 176-177).

A fifth key symbol is Armageddon -- the process of purging the *Earth* of Satan's influence. Christ, usually depicted riding upon a white horse, is

waiting to rout out the Devil; he will battle with him and cast him into an abyss for a thousand years, and during this pitched battle "the world" as we know it will be destroyed; only Jehovah's people will survive (*The Watchtower* 1 July 1977: 394). The utter destruction envisioned for all earthly institutions during Armageddon is captured in Figure 9 below.



The sixth key symbol is "the great crowd" of faithful Witnesses who expect to survive the battle of Armageddon and inhabit the paradise earth to be established during the millennial reign of Christ -- a crowd illustrated in Figure 10 below.

FIGURE 10



(The Watchtower 15 January 1981: cover.)

This symbol speaks with particular force to all Witnesses who do not consider themselves to be of the "Remnant" destined for heaven. Their role is carefully defined by the Organization:

No less a degree of loyalty must be proved today by that class of dedicated, baptized persons who were prefigured by the "vast mixed company" who left Egypt with the Israelites and who were present at the making of the Law covenant at Mount Sinai. (Exodus 12: 38; Numbers 11:4) These correspond with the "great crowd" that the apostle John describes in Revelation 7: 1-17. . . . They also must demonstrate their loyalty to the kingdom of our Lord God Jehovah and of his Christ (*The Watchtower* 15 March 1982: 19).

The seventh key symbol is "the new order of things" -- the reward "the great crowd of other sheep" presently seeks to earn by proving loyal to Jehovah and his Organization through preaching activity. This "new order of things" is the paradise on earth ruled over by the King Christ Jesus, proleptically depicted in Figure 11 on page 27. Note how carefully the symbol of paradise is created from the words of the Bible (*Isaiah* 11: 6, 8):

And the wolf will actually reside for a while with the male lamb, and with the kid the leopard itself will lie down, and the calf and the maned young lion and the well-fed animal all together; and a mere little boy will be leader over them
And the sucking child will certainly play upon the hole of the cobra . . . (NWT).

FIGURE 11

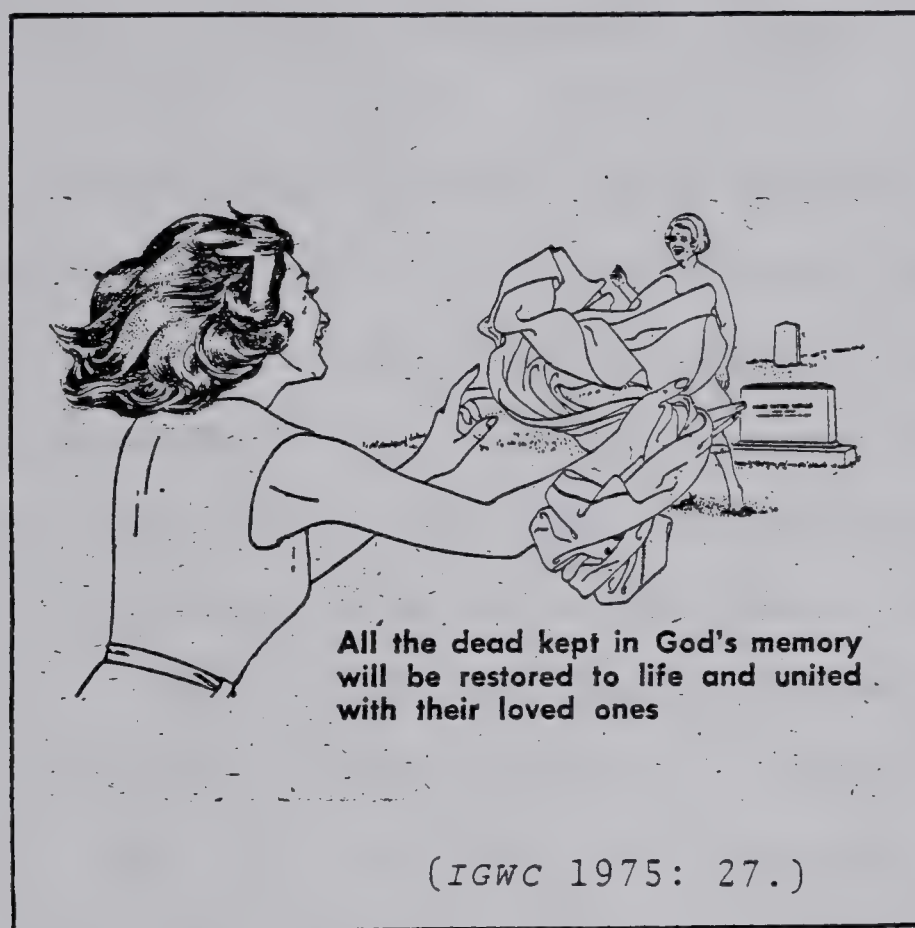


(*The Watchtower*, 15 October, 1979: 9.)

"The great crowd" will be responsible for the initial "clean-up" after Armageddon in preparation for the return of the multitudinous dead anticipated to share with them the pleasures of paradise.

The eighth key symbol is the earthly resurrection in which it is believed that billions of the dead will be raised from the grave after Armageddon to live up to a thousand years prior to being tested a final time. Virtually all of mankind not destroyed at Armageddon itself will have the opportunity of an earthly resurrection, according to Witness eschatology. Malcontents such as Hitler and dictators of Stalin's stature may yet grace the earth once more (*The Watchtower* 15 June 1979: 16-31; and *ABU* 1971: 1399-1400). It is expected, however, that the doors of paradise will be forever barred to those unfortunates who died in a "disfellowshipped" state. Whether the sin be that of wilfully rejecting the vision or sharing lunch with one already officially disqualified from "God's New World" is of no consequence (*The Watchtower* 15 February 1975: 109-11). As a reward for not rejecting the vision of the Witnesses, those faithful "who fall asleep in death" prior to Armageddon are expected to be among the first brought back to life (*The Watchtower* 1 February 1975: 87-91). The revivification of loved ones is a critical tenet of belief and hope for the Witnesses who look forward to being reunited with those friends and relatives awaiting

the call to come forth from "the memorial tombs" in a fashion indicated in Figure 12 below.



While it is expected that most of those who are reincarnated for a second chance at salvation will indeed come to appreciate Jehovah and his grand scheme, the Witnesses anticipate that there will still be those who prefer to follow the Devil when he is released at the end of the thousand year period and will marshall their forces behind him for one final and decisive showdown with Christ before he retires his mantle of power to Jehovah. By the time this momentous event is over,

it is believed that Satan and his followers will have been destroyed forever and that those who survive will have achieved, at last, life-everlasting in paradise (ABU 1971: 1005. See *The Watchtower* 15 April 1981: 23).

Other lesser symbols consist of theological images shared with the rest of Christendom, with minor variations. The instrument of Christ's death, the Witnesses avow, was the straight torture stake, not the cross (ABU 1971: 1608-1609; and *The Watchtower* 15 November 1979: 24). The cross and church steeples are held to be signs of decadent pagan influence, and are regarded as being "phallic symbols." Their own "Watchtower" symbol is not lumped with steeples, nor would they admit any connection with the classical use of the "Watchtowers" of the East, South, West and North of witchcraft. Most Witnesses have no knowledge of the worldview of Freud, but when it comes to concrete symbols they are very Freudian in outlook, making a major issue of the decadent sexual symbology of Christendom. The Roman Catholic Church is seen to be at the forefront of organized religion, and Satan, disguising himself as the Angel of Light he once was, inspires all "false religion" -- by which is meant

any religion other than Jehovah's Witnesses. Collectively, all other religions are known as Babylon the Great, and the demise of Babylon the Great is predicted as occurring immediately before the coming of Armageddon. Christ will not destroy the harlot Babylon himself -- the Beast upon which she rides will accomplish this:

. . . Ironically, many of these "kings of the earth" who were once the harlot's 'lovers' will turn against her, for we are told: "These will hate the harlot and will make her devastated and naked, and will eat up her fleshy parts and will completely burn her with fire" (*The Watchtower* 15 November 1981: 12).

The above quotation was accompanied by the illustration contained in Figure 13 below.



Of all these major symbols, the idea or image of Jehovah God is thrust to the forefront of attention. He is regarded as the creator of all things, the first and only cause, final arbitrator, absolute lord of the universe. The Witnesses who bear his name try to see him as the ultimate friendly judge who has at his beck and call "throng of angels" who keep him informed of every action performed by man, good or bad (*The Watchtower*, 1 November 1980: 24). He is like a gigantic, personified computer terminal connected directly to every being in the universe, treating each being equally and if necessary simultaneously -- in total control of all the elements, of every atom (*The Watchtower* 15 January 1981: 1-10). If God created the universe, he also somehow shapes it, with floods, earthquakes, volcanoes, hurricanes and the like, which, given a context, Witnesses would describe quite seriously as "acts of God." Not that God engineers such things deliberately -- the Witnesses would deny that. But geographical and seismological phenomena are regarded as being part of the divine pattern of natural law, to be expected increasingly during "the last days" before Armageddon as "signs of the times" (*The Watchtower* 1 February 1975: 88).

The Witnesses variously regard Satan as being the arch-rebel in opposition to God himself (as in *Job*), and as the arch-enemy of the resurrected Christ (as in *Revelation*):

[Jehovah's Witnesses] saw that there are but two organizations in the universe and that everyone belongs either to God's organization or to Satan's, the latter on earth being composed of big business, big politics and big religion. God's heavenly organization of loyal spirit creatures is represented on earth by his organized witnesses (*The Watchtower*, 1 December 1981: 23).

Having determined what is good for man, Jehovah has established ways and means of keeping his chosen people on the straight and narrow path to salvation. And in modern times his "ways and means committee" is none other than the Governing Body of Jehovah's Witnesses (*The Watchtower* 15 March 1982: 21). Since they see themselves as proof positive of God's victory over evil, Jehovah's Witnesses expect to be prime targets for Satan's final fling, which since 1914 has been aimed at God's final and "superior" creation -- thinking man himself. Satan works deviously to turn man against God, creating in man the desire to sin and to discover values other than those established by God (*The Watchtower* 15 April 1976: 255). The world at large is seen to be controlled by Satan, who is called "the god of this system of things" -- the driving force of "civilization" (*USHH* 1978: 14).

Few house-to house sermons fail to quote at least one scripture from *Revelation* in which Christ's return is anticipated:

And war broke out in heaven: Michael and his angels battled with the dragon, and the dragon and its angels battled but it did not prevail, neither was a place found for them any longer in heaven. So down the great dragon was hurled, the original serpent, the one called Devil and Satan, who is misleading the entire inhabited earth; he was hurled down to earth, and his angels were hurled down with him

On this account be glad, you heavens and you who reside in them! Woe for the earth and for the sea, because the Devil has come down to you, having great anger, knowing he has a short period of time (*Revelation* 12: 7-12 *NWT*).

The battle described here occurred, according to the Witnesses, in 1914, when Christ hurled Satan "to the vicinity of the earth," precipitating, among other afflictions, World War I and the Spanish flu. Since that time, virtually every negative attribute to be found in the contemporary world -- from crime to earthquakes to disease to famine -- can be accounted for in terms of the Devil's wrath, which can be expected to continue until its culmination at Armageddon when the Devil is "abyssed" (*The Watchtower* 15 March 1982: 16 - 17):

And I saw an angel coming down out of heaven with the key of the abyss and a great chain in his hand. And he seized the dragon, the original serpent, who is the Devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years (*Revelation 20: 1 - 2 NWT*).

With Satan out of the way, the "Kingdom" shall operate perfectly; there will be no more death or destruction or sorrow: no earthquakes, no volcanoes, no hurricanes. God will once more institute perfect control over the weather, over weeds, over the very quality of the soil. The world will become a totally habitable place, each person working on his patch of land for the glory of God. There will be no such things as pain or crying, even, negative emotions having been dispensed with (*Revelation 21: 4*). By the time the masses of the dead begin to be resurrected, the earth will be well on its way to becoming the paradise God intended it to be when he first created Eden. Over the next five hundred or so years, billions of people will have been resurrected. For the balance of the Millennium, they will work the land and praise the Lord without persecution or death: Christ and the 144,000 chosen ones will rule over the earth from heaven, and Christ will have become "the Prince of Peace" (*The Watchtower* 15 April 1981: 20 - 21; and 15 March 1982: 19).

At the end of the millennium, Satan will be unchained and released to work his will on the inhabitants of the earth, but conditions would be unlike those of today. For one thing, during life in the New World, human reproduction will rapidly come to a halt as paradise reaches a saturation point; so it is likely that human beings will no longer be tempted by the "disgusting things of the flesh" that give Jehovah's Witnesses so much trouble in these last days. After a point there will be no childbirth in paradise -- therefore, no children (*PLPR* 1958: 225-226). Since all animals will become vegetarians, animal husbandry is likely to become problematic as well (*Isaiah* 11: 6 - 9), although to suggest ways in which God might choose to cope with overpopulation would be presumptuous. Suffice to say,

There will be "princes" or "other sheep" who take the lead in Jehovah's service on earth. They will be the visible rulers on earth. These princes on the earth will not be the kind of princes that we know today. They will not just happen to inherit the right to rule from their parents. Instead, they will be good men whom the righteous King Jesus Christ will pick out and appoint as his earthly helpers.

There is no question about the fact that these princes will be good leaders. Their faith and obedience to God will have been tested and proved. Some of them will be "other sheep" who are living on earth now. Others will be such men of olden times as Abraham, Moses, David and others . . . (*PLPR* 1958: 218).

"Shining new conditions will be created" in which
 "the divine Gardener, Jehovah God, will direct the
 planting":

Under his guiding hand the replanting of the
 paradise will be helped by the right climate
 and by the absence of destructive pests.
 All nature will be brought back into perfect
 balance. And no war will ever come along
 to destroy the good things that will be
 made under God's direction!

Yes, that is right, everything that
 has made men sad will be gone. All the bad
 that has come from Satan's rebellion will
 be removed

With everyone who lives obeying Jehovah,
 there will be no crime, no misdoing, no
 lawlessness. The people who want to do bad
 things will have gone down in the battle of
 Armageddon

Imagine that! This means that you
 could go out into the streets looking for
 a wicked man and you would not be able to
 find one! (PLPR 1958: 217 - 222).

Into the midst of this paradise will plunge
 Satan the Devil, intent on turning the sinless
 human workers of paradise against their God:

Satan's heart will not have changed. Again
 he will try to turn all men away from God.
 He will try to make people think that they
 will be better off if they follow him than
 they would be if they did right and obeyed
 God. Selfishness is a thing that Satan
 understands So Satan will use some
 sly appeal to selfishness at the end of the
 thousand years. But whatever method he
 uses, he will do all that he can to take
 everyone into final destruction with him.
 (PLPR 1958: 239).

Those well-seasoned in the ways of the Lord will be able
 to resist his wiles, and go on living forever.

To people in the "outside world," this vision of the New World may seem unrealistic -- or even nightmarish. Nevertheless, this vision constitutes the ultimate perceived reality of life for the Witnesses as the threat of eternal death -- and the hope of eternal life in paradise -- impinge upon the imagination. This is especially true of children who have never been taught an alternative reality, in accordance with instructions in *The Watchtower* for parents to "have such a fine program outlined for their children that little or no time remains for *outside* associations" (1 February 1974: 84-86). Many do continue to live within the vision as adults. Others break away, but are haunted by the Pain of Loss -- they believe that the New World will come, but that they personally are unworthy of it; their friends and relatives will live forever while they moulder in the ground. Still others make a total break with the theological system of the Witnesses, seeing eternal life as a threat (under those conditions and circumstances) and death as a profound relief.

The power of Jehovah's Witnesses, then, rests first on the threats and promises made by God in the Bible to punish the wicked and reward the faithful.

The Witnesses conform to the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society because they believe it represents God's will on earth; to rebel against the "Organization" is to invite obliteration (*The Watchtower* 15 February 1975: 109-111). In order to gain eternal life, one must not waste time and energy pursuing the "good life" of materialistic pleasures in this world, but must sacrifice time and energy to Jehovah by preaching the news of his Kingdom. Once baptized, Witnesses must conform to the will of the Society or suffer severe social censures which affect friends and relatives -- and their own chances of entering Paradise. Each Witness, having forsaken "worldly" associations for the "Mother" Organization is likely to be abandoned and become totally ostracized -- *totally* friendless -- if he is ever disfellowshipped (*The Watchtower* 15 September 1981: 26-31). Aware of this possibility, most Witnesses, being social creatures, are motivated to cling to the vicissitudes of the Society no matter what. No degree of vindictiveness and social pain within the Organization makes the world "out there" any less a hostile and dangerous place. As Raymond Franz has written, the Witnesses believe that "there is no life outside the organization" (Letter to *Time*, 15 March 1982: 8).

III

Methodology

The social dynamic and symbolic vision of Jehovah's Witnesses have created for them, over the years, a subculture in which strong forces attract and repel relatively large numbers of individuals. The demands for conformity are high and the sources of conflict are many. In order to analyse the operative dynamic of the symbolic vision within the carefully regulated social world of the Witnesses, a small group or "microsociety" has been selected within which face-to-face relationships could be studied. These micro-relationships are necessary to an understanding of symbolic processes, since symbols must first speak to the individual. As Paul Tillich noted, "There is no centre in a group in the sense in which it exists in a person"(Tillich [1952] 1962: 94). Only when the symbol has evoked within the individual an appropriate emotional response and intellectual commitment can that individual willingly abrogate certain rights to the collective will of a "group" of like-minded persons. This group in turn must agree to submit to the leadership of

select members whose responsibility it becomes to consolidate the group, standardizing social reality against a background of symbolically "valid" truths.

Similarly, the roots of dissension rest in the individual, who remains capable of accepting or rejecting symbolic meanings as presented by the group. When such conflict arises, the solidarity of the group is threatened, demanding a prescribed pattern of responses predicated on the social translation of symbolic doctrine. It is within this micro-arena, where the battle of diverse symbolic formulation and interpretation is waged, that the *social* significance of the human capacity to create, accept and reject symbols may best be laid bare. And it is ultimately within this arena that man builds for himself socially and intellectually meaningful worlds, destroys them, and begins anew.

Data for this dissertation has been collected from ethnographic fieldwork and library research over a period of seven years. Fieldwork has been conducted under two diverse sets of circumstances. First, I have had sustained contact with congregations where I am accepted as an anthropologist who is engaged in studying Jehovah's Witnesses. This part of the research

has been useful in acquiring objective information as to how the group promotes solidarity and growth, even in times of crisis; however, the centripetal forces which tear at the social fabric of the group are held out of reach. In short, the researcher sees and hears precisely what the Witnesses want to present, and nothing more. Similarly, much of the library research was of limited use. The cryptic criticism of Alan Rogerson in assessing the work of Milton Czatt applies to much of what has been written about the Witnesses by "objective" investigators; namely, that such research "suffers from the limitations of times and the fact that the author was an outsider and tried to get his information the hard way -- by asking the Witnesses for it" (Rogerson 1969: 210).

The second level of research proved to be much more productive. I was "raised" a Jehovah's Witness, and to this day remain a part of "the Organization." Thus I am able to view the group from the "inside," *subjectively*. At the same time, I have attempted, with the prerogative of the scholar, to be frankly objective with respect to Witness doctrine as it might be regarded from the point-of-view of an outsider. The significance of this perspective, from an academic point of view, is critical, as Harvey Cox noted:

Even when texts inspire and create continuing movements as the Koran and the Bible and other holy books have done, it is people who are inspired and brought together, and it was people who wrote and passed on the texts. To understand people's religion we have to interpret people (Cox 1973: 144).

From the time of Neils Bohr it has been understood that the simple act of *observing* changes what is being observed. This is not to suggest that certain areas are thereby necessarily closed, but rather that an alternative perspective must be adopted, as Cox postulated:

In seeking to understand people's religion it is essential always to keep one crucial distinction in mind. It is the difference between "*investigating*" and "*learning from*." I am convinced that people's religion is not something we can "study" or do research about in the old sense, for that approach betrayed a cavalier premise from the start. We turn to people's religion now not because we want to study it but because we want people to *teach us*. We want to learn from their lives. This requires shedding the role of investigator and learning to be a seeker (Cox 1973: 145).

Claude Levi-Strauss expressed a similar sentiment when he stated that the anthropologist has to "adopt the position of other to understand man" (Levi-Strauss 1964: 1).

In seeking to understand the dynamic life force of the Witnesses I have "lived" their life and explored the area of defection with the disaffected as well. The variety of perspectives used in the search for

understanding has resulted in what can best be described as an "acrostic" view of the Witness world. In explaining the value of acrostic vision Miriam Simos wrote:

An acrostic . . . is a form of crossword puzzle, in which everything has many meanings. Looked at as we normally do, horizontally, the letters form certain words -- but if we shift our vision to right angles, it all changes. We look at our culture and our conditioning from another angle, and read an entirely different message. Acrostic vision is uncomfortable; it sets us at odds with everything we have been taught (Simos 1979: 187).

The micro-society is in itself an alternative angle from which to view the power relationships within the world of the Witnesses. And within that world, the perspectives of the *convert*, the *born in*, the *long term committed*, and the *defector* emerge to create a pattern of power networks within the *living* world of the members from which one may begin to understand the awesome power of symbolic systems through which man creates for himself a "significant world."

The search for "significance" in the relationships of men in society demands a thematic approach in which the "generative" themes may be isolated.

As Freire noted:

We must realize that the aspirations, the motives, and the objectives implicit in the meaningful thematics are *human* aspirations, motives and objectives. They do not exist

"out there" somewhere, as static entities; *they are occurring*. They are as historical as men themselves; consequently, they cannot be apprehended apart from men. To apprehend these themes and to understand them is to understand both the men who embody them and the reality to which they refer (Freire 1972: 98).

Freire's main concern with generative thematics within man and society was precisely that of *altering* the relationships which exist between man and his social reality. It is clearly understood that anthropology does not seek to alter the world it strives to understand; however, while we do not share Freire's *intent* his *techniques* are of value. In particular, the application of rendering *slogans* or *symbols* as *problems* can be productive. By posing the "existential, concrete, present situation" of a people as a problem requiring both intellectual and active response we can understand the dynamic power of the symbolic system to motivate them in certain directions (Freire 1972: 84-85). In this fashion we are able to "decode" a *situation* in the "men-world relationship" in such a way that we may, as academic researchers, comprehend it as a "dialectic problem" which people try to solve through word, reflection, and action (99-101). From this perspective, otherwise incomprehensible, apparently "irrational" behaviour is rendered as planned action within a specific thematic

universe. Within the micro-society we may progress from the themes and relationships already "decoded" within this dissertation, to the concrete, existential level in which "people" must within the "men-world relationships" presented to them, create and sustain for themselves a *meaningful* existence.

The data upon which the analysis of the micro-society is based was drawn from four core congregations whose total membership is at present more than 300. The ethnographic micro-society has been constituted in such a way that it projects backwards and forwards from one congregation as it was actively formulated in 1965, with a view to establishing what happened in the years since then to each individual Witness, and thus to the group at large. There is no longer a congregation resembling the one that existed in 1965 -- merely individuals who since 1965 have gone their various ways into a total of four associated congregations with a small minority spreading out over four continents. The extent to which this initial group has retained its activity in the Organization, as individual members, is the main thrust of this analysis. Suffice to say that of the initial group, only two families remain physically in the original geographic location of the

congregation as it was known in 1965. The congregation has since expanded substantially due to a dramatic increase in the population of the town in which it is located. Many Witnesses have moved in as a result of securing employment in the town's expanding industry. Of the initial group, most do continue to live within a hundred-mile radius of the Kingdom Hall that initially brought them together as a congregation.

This ethnography, then, is quite different from the usual study of a specific group in a specific geographical locale. A study of a specific congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses over fifteen years would reveal little more than a 200% turnover of membership, many of those members arriving as dedicated Witnesses, and eventually leaving the area as dedicated Witnesses. A study which addresses issues such as the initial appeal of the symbolic system, its continued effect throughout the individual's life, and the pressures and conflicts which lead to social atomism would be nearly impossible in such a mobile society. In fact, this is the operative factor in most Witnesses' persisting belief that defection is a "rare event." They literally do not see the magnitude of defection from the perspective of their mobile society. Therefore people who have moved into the

congregation subsequent to 1965 have not been incorporated into this study since their arrival and departure in no way represents *real growth* patterns; that is, they and their families and converts were already represented statistically in the national and international figures presented by the Witnesses. By taking the members of a congregation as it existed in a particular year in the past, and examining where each individual in that group went, in terms of religious commitment, we can examine absolute demographic growth and absolute demographic loss regardless of the geographical relocation of individual members.

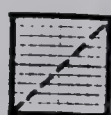
The families selected are, or have been, regarded as influential members of the Witnesses, and several have direct access to -- and are friends of -- members of the Brooklyn-based Governing Body as well as the Canadian Bethel. The group includes at present a circuit servant (in charge of "overseeing" several geographically-related congregations), two members of the "Bethel family," and several servants or "overseers." Many have at one time or another "pioneered" and several have served overseas in the ministry. The oldest member of the micro-society (Wynne Zuckermann b. 1888) dated her association with Jehovah's Witnesses from 1919 and

regarded herself as a member of the "Remnant" of the 144,000 destined for heaven. She remained active until she suffered a stroke in 1953 that left her partially paralysed until her death in 1975.

It was essential in using this type of group to verify that it did in fact reflect accurately the overall patterns of the Organization. To this end, charts were prepared on the basis of other local congregations in which no adjustment was made for mobility. The series of tables contained on the following pages does in fact verify that the congregation of the microsocociety closely mirrors patterns in the Organization as a whole. The first table of this series compares the microsocociety with overall national and international patterns. Following tables contain the "average" growth patterns for Newfoundland (calculated as a separate country by the Society), the United States of America, Canada, and finally the congregation of the microsocociety. The average congregation figures were established by dividing the number of publishers by the number of congregations listed for the geographical area (See Tables 1 to 5 on pages 51 to 55).

The tables as presented also contain statistics on the number of baptisms performed each year. By scanning the baptism columns, it can be seen that there is a tendency for more people to be baptized in a given year than can be accounted for in publisher increase that year. This tendency is demonstrated in statistics for Canada, the United States, and Newfoundland -- in fact for the combined international total.

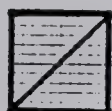
COMPARATIVE GROWTH RATES
for
INTERNATIONAL
NATIONAL
and
LOCAL CORE STUDY GROUPS



International Figures
Each Block = 1/2 Million
Witnesses



National Figures
Each Block = 10,000
Witnesses



Local Figures
Each Block = 10
Witnesses

of Witnesses

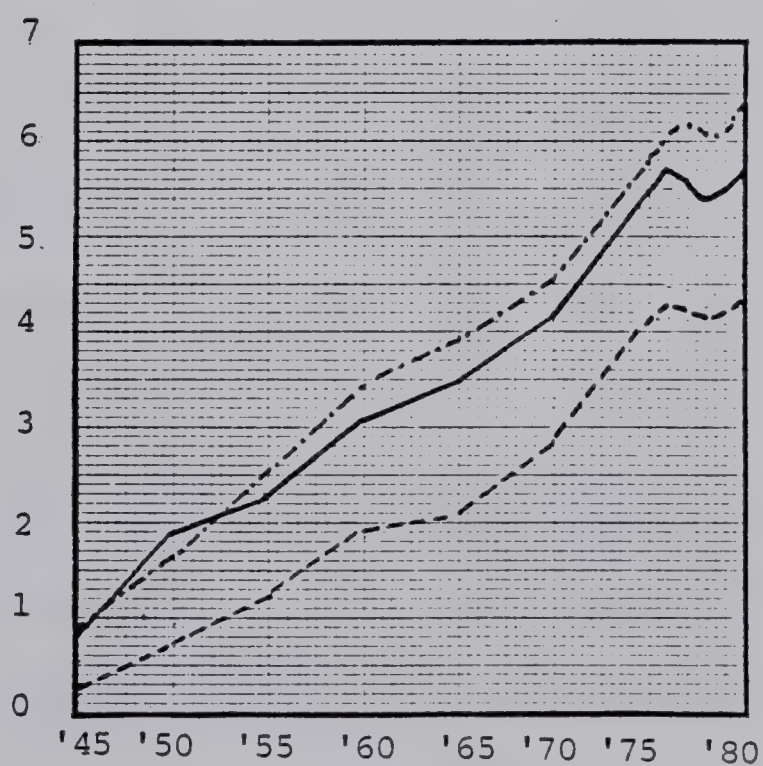


TABLE 1

TABLE 2

TYPICAL NEWFOUNDLAND CONGREGATION*							
Year	# Av. Pub.	Peak Pub.	# Bapt.	# Pion.	# Av. B.S.	% Inc.	# Hours
1970	42	45	5	5	31	8	11,273
1971	44	45	3	5	33	4	11,174
1972	44	45	4	5	30	0	10,634
1973	44	48	3	5	25	0	10,352
1974	48	50	6	5	25	11	12,407
1975	53	56	6	6	25	9	12,151
1976	54	57	3	5	25	3	10,935
1977	54	55	2	5	25	0	10,282
1978	52	55	1	5	20	-3	9,109
1979	52	54	2	4	20	0	9,046
1980	52	54	2	4	20	0	8,521

(For 37 baptisms during this period there was an increase of only 10 new publishers.)

*Extrapolated from Yearbook, 1970-1980.

TABLE 3

TYPICAL UNITED STATES CONGREGATION*							
Year	# Av. Pub.	Peak Pub.	# Bapt.	# Pion.	# Av. B.S.	% Inc.	# Hours
1970	37	39	4	2	30	8	6,979
1971	40	42	4	3	31	8	7,541
1972	42	43	5	2	30	4	7,191
1973	44	47	6	3	28	5	7,881
1974	51	54	8	4	32	15	9,965
1975	53	56	7	3	31	6	9,293
1976	54	48	4	3	28	2	8,499
1977	53	55	3	3	27	-3	7,607
1978	51	54	2	3	26	-3	7,207
1979	52	53	3	3	28	1	7,648
1980	54	57	3	3	30	4	8,107

(For 49 baptisms during this period there was an increase of only 17 new publishers.)

*Extrapolated from Yearbook, 1970-1980.

TABLE 4

TYPICAL CANADIAN CONGREGATION*							
Year	# Av. Pub.	Peak Pub.	# Bapt.	# Pion.	# Av. B.S.	% Inc.	# Hours
1970	46	47	4	3	27	6	8,378
1971	48	49	4	3	27	5	8,477
1972	49	50	4	3	26	2	8,134
1973	51	53	6	3	25	3	8,767
1974	56	58	7	4	27	11	10,583
1975	58	61	5	3	25	4	9,743
1976	61	63	4	3	25	3	9,297
1977	61	63	2	3	25	0	8,820
1978	61	62	3	3	25	0	8,524
1979	61	64	3	3	25	1	8,883
1980	63	66	3	4	27	3	9,201

(For 45 baptisms during this period there was an increase of only 17 new publishers.)

*Extrapolated from Yearbook, 1970-80.

TABLE 5

MICROSOCIETY					
Year	# Av. Pub.	Peak Pub.	# Bapt.	# Pion.	% Inc.
1970	42	44	2	4	7
1971	44	46	2	4	5
1972	44	46	2	4	0
1973	45	47	3	5	2
1974	50	52	4	6	11
1975	55	58	3	5	10
1976	57	59	2	5	4
1977	56	59	2	4	-2
1978	54	58	2	3	-4
1979	55	59	3	3	2
1980	56	60	5	4	2

(For 30 baptisms during this period there was an increase of only 14 new publishers.)

(Total hours and Bible Studies were not available from the core study group.)

The Witnesses have never satisfactorily explained the discrepancy between the large numbers of persons baptized and comparatively smaller number of increased publishers, but it is plain that the discrepancy arises from a much larger "drop-out" rate than meets the eye -- the Society does not publish drop-out statistics. This issue will become critical in the ensuing analysis of the micro-society which does, in fact, represent a "normative" group within the world of Jehovah's Witnesses.

To protect the identity of the individuals studied within the micro-society, no real names have been used. Individuals have been renamed, because much information of a personal nature, including personal doubts and activities that could be regarded as counter to the interests of the group at large, has been divulged, and the revelation of the actual identity of one individual could lead to the identification of several others by simple extrapolation of marital relationships. Accordingly, I have established a code in which each individual is renamed in a specific progression. The core families are A, B, C, D, and E. For the sake of readability I have assigned names to the families consonant with the letter assigned as follows:

A Arbuckle
 B Balfour
 C Constable
 D Darset
 Dorset] Brothers
 E Emerson

and so on down to Z for Zuckermann. The first five letters were reserved for the group as constituted in 1965; therefore even though Zuckermann is the earliest connection, the E was reserved for her married daughter and son-in-law as that family's key representatives in 1965.

The letter assigned to a specific family is also used in the first name of each member of that family, except for wives who have married into the family and retain their own first names reflecting the family of their origin. Hence, Don Dorset and his wife Rose (nee Randolph) have two married daughters, Donna Gates and Dora Arbuckle. Kate Arbuckle (nee Keller) has a son Arthur Arbuckle, and two daughters, Amy Emerson and Alice Farthing.

Members of the first or oldest generation of Witnesses being studied have been given monosyllabic first names (Don, Rose, Kate, etc.), those of the second generation have been given bisyllabic names

(Donna, Dora, Arthur, Amy, Alice, etc.) and those of the third generation have trisyllabic names (Angela, Eleanor, Guinevere, etc.). The only confusion that might arise using this system is the situation in which two or more brothers have several children each. In the case of family D, in which Dave D. has two daughters and a son and Don D. has two daughters, I have distinguished Don's offspring by spelling his name (Dorset) slightly differently from Dave's (Darset), and by giving Don's children and grandchildren names beginning with "Do" as opposed to "Da". In this way, the reader can tell at a glance the familial background and generation of any given individual.

Each individual is also coded according to his or her service performance over the years as set out in the Key on page 138. These statistics are general information among congregation members at all times, as those who are not quite up to scratch in terms of hours in preaching are designated publicly as being "in need of encouragement." In short, the local congregation grapevine ensures that each individual member knows where all others stand in terms of "spiritual health". The virtual obsession with statistics stems directly from the Society's own

data collecting system which requires that each member fill out prescribed service record forms. First, the "House-to-House Record" form illustrated below is used to keep careful track of each hour, magazine, backcall and Bible study, filled out as the Witnesses go from door to door.

FIGURE 14

[illegible]

The information contained on the House-to-House form is tallied weekly by the "publisher" and recorded on the "Weekly Field Service Report" forms. At the end of the month, an appointed "elder" transfers these figures to the "Publisher's Record Card." Both of these forms are illustrated on the following page (Figure 15). Every September, the figures on the Publisher's Record Cards are totalled and submitted, through the local branch office, to the Brooklyn headquarters for the preparation of the *Yearbook* and January 1st issue of *The Watchtower*. And as already discussed, when presented in annual, international form, these statistics become in themselves major symbols of success and Jehovah's continued blessing upon his earthly congregations.

Details of the microsociety are presented in Chapter Two, with supportive charts indicating the levels of involvement, commitment and "status" attained by individuals within the movement. Chapter Three gives an historical overview of the sect from both an etic and emic perspective, in order to provide a context for the shifts in commitment to be seen among individuals of the microsociety -- shifts parallel to those demonstrated by Witnesses the world over.

FIGURE 15

PUBLISHER'S WEEKLY FIELD SERVICE REPORT FOR
 (Month)

Name **Monday** **to Sunday**
 (Date) (Date)

	Books	Booklets	Hours of Field Service	New Subs	Individual Magazines	Back-Calls	Bible Studies
Monday							
Tuesday							
Wednesday							
Thursday							
Friday							
Saturday							
Sunday							
Total							

S-4 6/53

Field service form

PUBLISHER'S RECORD

Publisher **Identification card**
 (Date issued)

Address **Languages spoken**

Date of birth **Active in service since** **Car owner**

Date immersed **Anointed or Other Sheep** **Serves in** }
Single or Married **Telephone** **congregation as** }

196	BOOKS	BKLTs	HOURS	SUBS	MAGS	B-CALLS	BIBLE STUDIES	REMARKS
SEPT.								
OCT.								
NOV.								
DEC.								
JAN. '6								
FEB.								
MAR.								
APR.								
MAY								
JUNE								
JULY								
AUG.								
YEAR								

In Chapter Four, we shall analyse more specifically the ways in which "symbols of significance" are presented by the Governing Body of Jehovah's Witnesses to potential converts and to the Witnesses at large through the publications of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society. In Chapter Five, we shall examine the processes of attraction, conversion, indoctrination and repulsion experienced by Jehovah's Witnesses as they are exposed to, and accept or reject, the symbols of power presented to them through the mechanism of the "Congregation." Finally, Chapter Six will focus upon the process of disillusionment by which one man's "truth" becomes another's "lie" as long-term Witnesses increasingly challenge the "authoritative voice" of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society both from within the Governing Body of Jehovah's Witnesses and the central "Bethel" factories, and from the "grass roots" of the membership itself.

CHAPTER TWO

THE MICROSOCIETY

I

Overview

Jehovah's Witnesses number some 2,247,486 active members (*The Watchtower* 1 January 1982: 29), each of whom defines himself and imbues his personal life with meaning through total commitment to the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society as an authoritative spokesman for Jehovah God. The Organization functions in several ways to assist these people achieve the goal of everlasting life in a future earthly paradise promised as a reward for their obedience (*The Watchtower* 15 December 1981: 21-26; and 15 April 1981: 13-23). However, belief alone holds no promise of future life-everlasting. A strict code of ethics for social conduct, enforced by the Society, is imposed upon each individual; respective worthiness for heaven or paradise

is assessed according to how well one measures up to this code. One must take an active part in the preaching activity at least once a month and conduct oneself with "good Christian behaviour."

In this chapter the "response" of the individual within the organizational context will be illustrated. As the following ethnographic case studies of families within the microsociety will indicate, the symbol initially speaks to each person in a somewhat unique way. The desire to respond to the symbols in such a way as to realize the rewards contained therein elicits feelings and behaviours which are also somewhat idiosyncratic. Throughout the lives of the people involved, the organization continues to exert its pressures aimed at total conformity and standardization of both belief and action. In turn, these people struggle within themselves to live up to organizational expectations. What is most difficult to assess is the extent to which the individual must struggle with himself in order to flourish within the Organization.

As will be demonstrated in the following data, the organization codifies and presents certain "life-sustaining principles" to which people as

individuals respond and subsequently accept membership within and responsibility toward the group as a whole.

As noted in Chapter One, the group used for this study centres around five key families within a single congregational setting *circa* 1965. These families have been coded as families A, B, C, D and E. The letters were initially assigned according to the relative influence of each family within the group; that is to say, family A was regarded as the "model" family by the congregation in 1965. The enthusiasm of Kate Arbuckle earned her the designation of "dynamo," and she was indeed the driving force behind the group. Families B, C and D are more uniformly matched in terms of commitment and performance, while family E had by 1965 shown definite signs of "weakening". In the following presentation, the families will be presented in a more historical fashion, placing family E at the beginning of the data, and ending with family A.¹

1. For historical background of the Witnesses in Canada, see Appendix A.

II

The Emerson Family

When Wynne Zuckermann's husband failed to return home after the First World War, both Wynne and her young daughter Zoe were devastated. Wynne sought solace in the Synagogue of her native faith, but ultimately she felt no comfort in the assurances of her rabbi. She had for years been familiar with the basic goals of millennarian movements through the reading of occasional tracts left by evangelists at her door, and their visions haunted her imagination.

In 1919 she purchased a copy of *The Golden Age*, (later to be named first *Consolation* and then *Awake!*) and its companion magazine published in *Watchtower* format, *The Finished Mystery: The Key That Unlocks the Mysterious Bible Books of Revelation and Ezekiel to an Extent Never Before Done -- Worth Its Weight in Gold*. Wynne read the magazines and was struck by the combination of conventional Christianity represented in the consideration of *Revelation* and a respect for the Jewish tradition of her birth displayed in the discussion of *Ezekiel*.

The Christian vision of heaven appealed to Wynne and she became firmly entrenched in the notion that Zeke must already be there and that as one of the 144,000 chosen ones of Russell's vision, she would eventually join him. How in her imagination Zeke had managed to become one of this group himself was never explained by Wynne. When the Witnesses began to distinguish between the "Anointed" who were destined for heaven and the "great crowd" who would be relegated to the earth forever, Wynne stuck to her conviction that she was one of the 144,000 on her way to reunion with Zeke in heaven.

Wynne was baptized in 1920. Her daughter, Zoe, did not make her formal commitment until 1925. In 1930, Zoe "placed" a magazine with a young man who seemed amazed at her self-assurance in walking up to a stranger's house and knocking on the door to peddle books -- at the start of the depression, no less -- and when she called back to follow up her "placement," he was eager to talk about the Bible. Zoe and her mother conducted a study with the young man (who lived less than a block away from their house) and in 1931, six months after his baptism, Zoe and Ed

Emerson were married. By that time the Witnesses had established their vision of paradise on earth as a poor sister alternative to the ultimate but rather restricted goal of heaven. For Zoe, newly married, the vision of a carefree existence on the earth had more appeal than heaven and she henceforth accepted the earth as her ultimate spiritual "home." Ed similarly found the vision of life-everlasting on earth with Zoe an appealing prospect and enthusiastically joined her in "preaching this good news of the Kingdom."

All three people remained active in the preaching activity even though Zoe gave birth to a son Edgar in 1933 and a daughter Elsie in 1942. From the time of his marriage until the early years of the war Ed "pioneered", helped financially by his mother-in-law. The threat of war and growing family responsibilities finally brought Ed to the point where he sought and obtained a job as a finishing carpenter. Before leaving the full-time ministry, however, Ed had become a congregation overseer.

Zoe's enthusiasm dwindled after the Second World War, and she was never a regular publisher after 1946, despite Ed's enthusiasm and her mother's

encouragement. By 1950 she had become inactive. Ed followed suit after the 1953 New York Assembly at which Elsie was baptized. Later that same year Wynne suffered a stroke from which she never totally recovered. She clung to life tenaciously, despite paralysis, living in a nursing home and then a geriatric ward until her death in 1975. During the years of her confinement, a senior Witness brought her the Memorial "emblems" of wine and unleavened bread for the annual celebration in order for her to renew her claim that she, by partaking of such emblems, was indeed going to heaven.

By the time of Wynne's death, the type of inactivity of Zoe and Ed had become a widespread "problem." As J. A. Beckford noted:

The waning of some Jehovah's witnesses' enthusiasm for service-work presents as many problems for the Watch Tower Society as does their high turnover rate, since they both have deleterious effects on the movement's evangelistic efficiency (Beckford 1975: 89).

The first problem arises in that the social edicts of the organization "demand" continued "service" for the achievement of salvation. There is no room within the Witnesses world for a "saved" individual. It is

a major tenet of faith that Jehovah shall judge those living on the earth at the time of Armageddon according to their state of spiritual health *at that moment*. The convert of six months who is knocking on doors as Armageddon arrives stands an infinitely better chance of surviving the ensuing holocaust than does the minister of fifty years who "gives up" six weeks before the outbreak of God's war.

It must be noted that the publishers who watch one of their "brothers" or "sisters" slip into inactivity rarely consider the possibility that the failing member may no longer envision the goal of paradise. The major concern is invariably described in terms of that person not recognizing the importance of following the organization's insistence that one must "persist to the end." In essence, the problem of the individual is "disobedience" to the Society; and as long as there is no indication given that the "rejection" of the Society's command to preach is wilful, the members of the congregation will continue to encourage the slack one back into activity, to help him appreciate once more the need for active service.

The Society is generally correct in assuming that backsliders are not rejecting the vision of paradise. What they cannot stem, however, is the growing belief within the individual over years of hard work that beyond some point Jehovah *couldn't* deny them entry into paradise. Silently, within themselves, they come to believe that decades of faithful publishing must count for *something*. How could God possibly deny them everlasting life while bestowing it on some new convert of six months? These people who harbour secret "answers" of their own are *tolerated* by the rest of the congregation. Making the best of a bad situation, the rest of the membership turns to backsliders as bad examples -- what *not* to become if one does not wish to toy dangerously with eternity. And of course, there is always the chance, however slim, that such negligent people might "wake up" in time to set themselves straight with Jehovah before the final reckoning.

Within the Emerson family, a common phenomenon among the Witnesses developed as Zoe and Ed grew more complacent. Their son Edgar became increasingly committed and active. Denied educational opportunities for advancement with the "old world," the young in Edgar's position can achieve additional status and praise

by succeeding where their own parents are visibly failing. Edgar was baptized in 1946 and acquired a servant's position at the same time his father was removed from his "position of responsibility" as "company servant."¹ Such was Edgar's performance that he was widely regarded as the congregation's most eligible bachelor. The congregation as a whole expected that Edgar would eventually "choose" the attractive and hard-working Donna Dorset as a wife or "help-mate." What none had considered was that Donna could not tolerate Edgar's intense perfectionism and verbosity. To the surprise of the entire congregation, it was the twelve-year-old immigrant, Amy Arbuckle, (who had "fallen in love at first sight" with the serious and particular Edgar), who attracted Edgar's attention, despite an age difference of eight years. Edgar, flattered by Amy's unabashed adoration, waited for four years until Amy's mother would permit him to "date" her. From Kate Arbuckle's perspective the marriage was a good one: each Witness parent hopes for his or her child to marry someone "strong in the Truth."

Edgar and Amy were finally married in 1959. They now have two children, Eleanor (1963) and Emery (1967).

1. Until 1952, the "congregation" was called the "company."

Things did not go so smoothly for Elsie who, after completing Grade 12 and keeping pace with her brother in service activity, gradually slipped toward inactivity. Once Edgar had married and left home, Elsie became totally inactive and started dating "worldly boys" outside the congregation. In 1964 she announced that she was going to marry Harold Handcock, a motor mechanic who had an affection for Elvis Presley and dressed accordingly, with black leather jacket and Brylcream. Her parents were horrified, but they were in no position to complain, being inactive themselves. The marriage took place in the fall of 1964. The next year Elsie gave birth to a son Hilary. The child suffered from several birth defects and would require extensive treatment and constant care for the first few years of his life.

Suddenly, Harold began earnestly to study the Bible -- always returning to the vision of a future world in which there would be no pain, suffering, sickness or death. In 1966 Harold was baptized and encouraged Elsie to accompany him both to meetings and in preaching. Their daughter, Harriet, was born in 1968. Both children now engage in preaching activities with their parents.

The latest crisis in the Emerson family revolves around the "defection" of Eleanor. As this series of events culminated late in 1981, Eleanor's defection is not indicated in the charts, which record activity until the end of 1980 only. In 1979 Eleanor's grandmother (Amy's mother) had taken Eleanor to visit Arthur Arbuckle (Amy's inactive brother). It was Kate Arbuckle's intention that Eleanor would stand as a model Witness to impress upon Arthur and his wife Dora how "delightful" children raised in "the Truth" really are. In the spring of 1981 when Eleanor announced to her uncle that her parents were pressuring her to get baptized and she was considering doing that in the fall, Arthur sent her a ticket for a return visit. While neither Arthur nor Dora made a point of discussing the Witnesses, the frustrations and fears of Eleanor came pouring out. From a distance she was able to assess the direction her life would take if she did not leave the movement.

Upon returning home, Eleanor (at seventeen) suggested that she wanted to move closer to Dora and Arthur. Her parents were outraged, declaring that Arthur and Dora were trying to "steal" her. After three months of increasingly restrictive and brutal treatment,

Eleanor left suddenly. When her parents discovered that she was missing, their first reaction was to declare that they would see the Arbuckles disfellowshipped once and for all. Cooler heads prevailed at the elders meeting called for the occasion, and the Emersons were advised to monitor the situation but not to pursue any attempts at "getting" Arthur and Dora since Eleanor was after all by that point an adult, and there was still no reason to assume that her uncle and aunt were "proactive" in her "defection." Eleanor's running away from her home and congregation serves as a prime example of the necessity of the stringent ostracism practiced by the group as a guard against "contamination." Had Arthur and Dora been disfellowshipped, Eleanor could never have spoken to them in the first place.

III

The Darset/Dorset Family

Dave Darset was born in 1911 into a Quaker family. The family was large and by the time Dave had finished grade eight education he had to find employment to help support his younger siblings. The greatest joy he found in his life as a labourer was the Bible and he yearned to become *actively* involved in sharing his joy with other people. The Quaker Church provided no outlet appropriate to Dave's level of zeal, so he joined the Salvation Army where he hoped both his love of the Bible and his musical ability would be appreciated. The Salvation Army did provide an outlet for Dave, but its social gospel lacked the strident and apocalyptic visions of glory which had come to haunt him from his private reading of Revelation.

In 1931 Dave found a copy of *The Harp of God* which his father had purchased from a colporteur calling at the family house. Mr. Darset felt sorry for the itinerant and purchased the item out of pity. As soon as the door was shut he tossed the publication onto the sofa and promptly forgot all about it.

Dave found the discarded *Harp* and started to leaf through it. It struck a deep, resonant chord in the young man and he immediately set out to contact the Witnesses for a personal study. The Army was soon behind him and he began his lifelong ministry as a Witness. By 1932 he was baptized and later that year married Oll Owen, one of his own converts.

When Dave first "called on" Oll in the service, he was enchanted by her quiet, retiring manner -- a pleasant contrast to the feisty mother who had raised him. After knowing Oll for five months he proposed to her: "If you dedicate your life to Jehovah, we could marry." Oll did just that and shared Dave's determination to preach for the Witnesses. Dave and Oll had two children, a son Darren, born in 1939, and a daughter Darlene, born in 1941.

Dave's conversion was not lost on his younger brother, Don, or on his sisters Dee and Dix, all of whom eventually embraced the new faith with enthusiasm as the years passed. Old Mr. Darset had become less and less inclined to take *any* religion too seriously, but Mrs. Darset was not loath to enter a Kingdom Hall, although she died a Quaker.

Don had always listened to his "big" brother's concerns about religious issues and continued to listen patiently as Dave described the Witnesses and their vision of a new heavens and a new earth. In 1935 Don married a Quaker girl, Rose Randolph. In 1937 the couple had a daughter Donna. Don and Rose regularly visited Dave and Oll, spending many long hours discussing Witness beliefs. Dave had, by 1938, spent years trying to convince Don that the matter was urgent, that "this world" was so vile it could not possibly last much longer. Rumours of Hitler's advances in Europe and the threat of war accomplished what Dave alone could not. Don finally "saw" the injustices of the world in a new light and feared that the imminent European conflagration just might develop into Dave's Armageddon.

Don and Rose began formal Bible studies and were baptized in 1938. By the time the war broke out in 1939 the two couples had become inseparable companions in their regular preaching activities. They and the other Witnesses among the study group who were regular publishers prepared for the war, knowing full well that the Society's sustained attack on all

religious and political institutions was bound to bring persecution and danger in a time of international crisis. As the war ground on and the pacifist Witnesses were officially banned, the small group "went underground." Dee and her husband had joined the group as the war became more threatening. When the issue of conscription arose, both Dave and Don avoided a confrontation -- Dave because he had only one functional lung, and Don because he was employed in an essential service -- making boots for soldiers. Dee's new husband did not fare so well: he was a healthy, self-employed handiman. His refusal to enlist earned him a prolonged stay in the Banff labour camp for conscientious objectors.

Throughout the period of the war, the group was by and large "cut off" from the larger organization and had to rely upon their own ingenuity to persist in preaching. The group continued to meet to study the Bible in Dave's home three times a week. The major problem, however, was procuring "literature" both for their own continuing studies and for preaching. Since direct contact with the branch office of the Society was impossible, literature had to be smuggled to the group through an intermediary "company"

that had formed fifteen miles away; the family responsible for relaying the material to them consisted of two adult men and their widowed mother. When the authorities were tipped off that the family was involved in smuggling banned literature, they arrested the two men and seized all their literature, which had been concealed in a haystack in the barn. Had the men been imprisoned, their dairy farm would have been closed, and so their mother insisted that she had been the one who, acting on her own initiative, had run the "smuggling" ring. She was imprisoned for two years, and the dairy farm continued operating. The Witnesses soon found alternative methods of acquiring the printed material they needed, and within a year of the initial banning, an efficient network had indeed been established.

All aspects of their activity were fraught with danger in the war years. Still, the war itself seemed to be a sure sign that Armageddon was in the works; therefore, despite personal risk they struggled to keep the literature moving into the hands of the general public. Some of the methods of preventing detection might seem far-fetched in

more stable times, but the Witnesses hid supplies of literature in coal bins and in the insulation between walls . "Preaching" was done only during the nights and was restricted to the throwing of wrapped magazines onto the porches of sleeping householders. During the winter, whenever they left their houses, usually in cars, they took precautions that all tracks were covered by sweeping the snow with spruce boughs, for the police kept watching suspected Jehovah's Witnesses. In fact, Dave Darset's house was searched twice in two days. Small children, including Darren and Darlene Darset, Donna Dorset and Edgar Emerson were taken in the cars, being bundled up in blankets in the winter while their parents dropped the banned literature on doorsteps at two or three o'clock in the morning.

Eventually the war came to a halt and the ban was lifted. Any disappointment that Armageddon had not materialized was easily repressed in the new atmosphere of freedom. It was a comfortable feeling to renew ties with the parent organization and hear that the Witnesses had not only survived but promised to flourish in the postwar period. The Emersons relaxed completely in the aftermath of war; but for

Dave, Oll, Don, Rose and their children it was a period of renewed activity which included picnics and overnight camping on weekends as they "covered" their large territory. Dee's husband returned from Banff in time for the marriage of Dix to a young dispatch rider who had spent the last three years of the war in a Canadian hospital with back injuries. Dix had read him much of the Society's literature, and that coupled with his own grim experience of "this world" resulted in his conversion in 1944.

The Darset/Dorset family constituted a distinct group within the congregation which continued with unabated zeal to preach the kingdom. In 1948 Rose gave birth to a second daughter, Dora, and the world seemed right. But shortly after Dora's birth Oll's health began to fail. It was soon discovered that Oll had leukemia and could expect to live for a maximum of three years. The promise of a resurrection to the earthly paradise for those who remained faithful to the end took on new significance. Oll died in 1951, convinced that she would be united with her family in paradise.

The loneliness and depression experienced by Dave after Oll's death were eventually overcome by the bubbly, gregarious companionship of Pat Parsons. Pat's parents had been long-standing Jehovah's Witnesses in the adjoining congregation: her father claimed to be a member of the "Remnant." Pat had been born in 1929 and baptized in 1946; she had been a zealous publisher from the beginning of the war. Two years after Oll's death, Dave married Pat; one year later a daughter, Dana was born. Dave, ever seeking new ways to expand his ministry, now longed to serve "where the need is great" and began planning a move overseas. He remained in Canada until both his older children were baptized and capable of supporting themselves before departing overseas.

Darren and Darlene, Dave's children by his first wife, were both baptized in 1953 at the New York Assembly. Darren had been an active publisher since 1946, when he used to travel around on a bicycle with his father, giving little presentations and "placing" magazines: Darlene had not become a "regular" publisher until 1950. Darren married Sally Shearer, one of his own converts, in 1958;

Darlene married a publisher, Quentin Quinn, in 1960. Both couples had sons (Darchester and Quartoni) in 1961: both had daughters (Dalia and Querida) in 1963, and each had other children in subsequent years, a son (Darien) in 1964, a son (Quiritus) in 1965, and a daughter (Dabina) in 1966.

Darlene and her new husband continued to be active Jehovah's Witnesses, but as soon as Dave and Pat left for South America, Darren and Sally began "to fall away." In fact, Darren became inactive almost as soon as his father left, and by 1965 was going out of his way to avoid contact with the Witnesses. Once Dave was no longer present to pressure Darren, the resentment Darren felt at having squandered childhood "working" as a Witness began to bubble forth. He became ostentatiously "materialistic" -- buying a new home and flashy, expensive car. He left his assembly-line job and began the long climb to a white collar position. He sought to experience all forms of recreation and amusements denied him as a child and eventually began to drink alcohol in increasing amounts. By the end of 1975 Darren was frequently drunk, and Sally left him, taking the two oldest children with her. For living with another man, she was

disfellowshipped in late 1976. Darren had discovered her new living arrangements before the congregation elders had, and his divorce came through within days of the disfellowshipping.

Dave, by then returned from overseas, was heart-broken by his son's performance. The final blow came weeks after the divorce when Darren was involved in a head-on collision in which he, Darien and Dabina were injured, as well as the occupants of the other two vehicles. The Court convicted him of drunk driving, suspended his license, and levied a heavy fine. The Witnesses disfellowshipped him.

Death with no salvation had come too close to Darren for comfort. He stopped drinking and started attending meetings regularly at the Kingdom Hall. In keeping with the Witnesses' social conventions, Darren was not looked at or spoken to during the two-year interval he attended meetings. His "repentance" was finally accepted and he was reinstated in 1978. Impressed by the change in their father's behaviour, Darien and Dabina have both eagerly joined Darren in preaching since 1978.

Darren's half-sister, Dana, also had a marriage that ended in divorce. Baptized at the age of ten while the family was still overseas, she had been publishing since the age of eight. Upon completing high school after their return to Canada, she met Ulric Usherwood, a publisher who had been active since 1960, and who was barely a year older than Dana. They married in 1973 and had a daughter, Ursula, in 1974. The failure of 1975 to "produce" Armageddon led Ulric to a total about-face in faith: he simply disappeared when Dana refused to "junk" her religion, surfacing months later on the West Coast, where he was living with another woman. Dana obtained her divorce in 1976, and Ulric was disfellowshipped that same year. Dana remarried in 1977, again to an active publisher, Victor Vance, who had been a pioneer from 1968 to 1976 and who now wanted to "settle down" with a wife and family. Victor remains an elder in the congregation, a position he has held since 1968.

In the "post-mortem" of Dana's first marriage, and in determining the fate of Ulric, the committee of elders discovered that Ulric and Dana had

purchased a particular chest of drawers that Dana subsequently discovered had belonged to a spiritualist. The Witnesses believe in the direct influence of Satan the devil and his demons, as indicated in *The Watchtower*, December 15th, 1966:

It is very frequently found that one who is having difficulty with the demons has a relative or acquaintance engaged in spiritism. Further investigation usually reveals that such a one has received a gift from the one who is under influence by the demons. Soon after the article was brought into one's house, trouble followed (741).

That the object was not a gift made no material difference -- the diagnosis and cure were the same. As *The Watchtower* cited above advised, the chest of drawers was hauled into the back yard and burned. In Ulric's absence, the committee of elders determined that it was his "fault" that such an object had been allowed into the house and it was concluded that the couple's marital problems had arisen as a result of that object's influence. The formal charge remained adultery, however, and it was for adultery that Ulric was formally disfellowshipped.

Like her two first cousins, Donna Dorset had been baptized in 1953 at New York. Despite the congregation's expectation that she would eventually marry

Edgar Emerson, she had developed a friendship with one of the "worldly" boys in her high school class. Since there were no "elibible" bachelors within the congregation as far as Donna was concerned, she asked for permission to date Gordon Gates. Rose and Don were both reluctant to allow such a thing, but finally gave in on the understanding that the relationship would not be allowed to continue unless Gordon agreed to study the Bible with them. Gordon cheerfully accepted the condition and was himself baptized at another New York assembly held in 1955. Their wedding took place in 1956 in Don and Rose's home; the new Kingdom Hall was under construction, but was not ready for use. The Gates's children, now ranging in age from thirteen to twenty-four, have all become regular publishers, at an early age exhibiting uniform enthusiasm and persistence which has earned them the respect of all Witnesses with whom they come into contact. They are indeed the envy of other, more "troubled" families. The eldest recently married a pioneer, and the couple has been invited to join the Canadian Bethel family. Those who remain at home enjoy a warm, supportive and humorous family environment.

The ardour of both Don and Rose Dorest had cooled somewhat by 1960, largely because of a curious accusation that was levelled against Don by Edgar Emerson. At the time, Don was account servant in the congregation. As an executive in a manufacturing concern he was earning a very high salary, but was much more tied to his job than most. Like Ed, Don had come to feel that Jehovah would accept him on the basis of all the work he had already done, and if he was short on preaching hours, he could help the Organization by contributing more money. The new Kingdom Hall had put the congregation in debt to the Society by means of a low interest mortgage. Contributions simply would not cover the monthly costs, so Don always added enough money out of his own pocket to make the monthly intake total \$100.00 even.

Edgar Emerson happened to look through the accounts book one day and noticed that every month for two years the contributions had been pegged at exactly \$100.00 -- no more, no less. He saw a problem where there was none. According to the social ethics of the Witnesses he should have asked Don about the matter directly, and in private. The Society is very explicit concerning the management of

any perceived "wrongdoing" in the congregation. In "*Your Word Is a Lamp to My Foot*" (the congregational equivalent to *Branch Organization Procedure*) Witnesses are told: "Gossiping to others is not the answer" The discussion continues:

You have a responsibility. At Matthew 18:15 it is written: "If your brother commits a sin, go lay bare his fault [reprove him] between you and him alone. If he listens to you, you have gained your brother" (1967: 171).

Other procedures are given should this first step fail to resolve the situation. However, in Don Dorset's case the *first* step was never taken. Instead, Ed mentioned his suspicions to his wife, who mentioned it to others, and soon it became commonplace "knowledge" that Don Dorset was embezzling congregation funds -- skimming off anything over \$100.00. A formal investigation began, the committee of elders expecting to find Don with his fingers in the till. They monitored contributions for the next two months, but the rumour that contributions would in any case end up in Don Dorset's pocket had led to a drying up of contributions until they were little more than a trickle. During the second month of scrutiny, only \$17.50 was contributed. But still when Don came to do the books he entered the \$100.00 figure and made the mortgage payment.

By this point, even Gordon Gates, Don's own son-in-law, wanted to know what was going on and demanded an explanation from the shocked Don who knew nothing of the *fracas* his generosity had generated. The explanation was clear enough, but the method of enquiry caused Don to have second thoughts about the whole process -- if not the whole religion -- for he was simply told never to do anything like that again. He was not thanked; neither was he apologized to by the man who had spread the rumour in the first place. Rose was furious with the handling of the situation and both she and Dora refused to attend meetings for several months. Don did eventually talk both Rose and Dora into going to meetings, arguing that *his* pride was not as important as their eternal lives. Both Rose and Dora eventually became involved in preaching work again, but Dora never quite forgot or forgave the injustice done her father. The congregation apparently never forgot either. During the time the "investigation" was being conducted, members of the congregation had begun to avoid the Dorsets, contrary to the Organization's express policy which stipulates:

When difficulties arise between members of the congregation, mature Christians do not vengefully seek to cause injury to the one who has injured them. (1 Pet. 3:8, 9) Nor do they coolly refuse to talk to him anymore (YWLF 1967: 171).

Even after the issue had been clarified and Don absolved from any wrongdoing, the members remained aloof from the Dorsets. Don continued to take Dora "on the service" for two years after the contribution incident was over. Don eventually resorted to keeping himself barely regular as a publisher by conducting a home Bible study with Dora.

In 1964 Arthur Arbuckle had returned from two years of overseas missionary service. Within the social world of the Witnesses, the pioneer-missionary is the ultimate "catch" in the mating game. For reasons no one could understand, Arthur avoided the advances of all eligible females in the pioneer and regular publisher category, preferring to spend more and more time at the Dorset home with the marginally active Dora. Most distressed by Arthur's interest in Dora was Kate, Arthur's mother. She kept constant pressure on Arthur to forget about Dora because Dora was not herself baptized and Rose and Don were "not strong in the truth." By 1966 both Dora and Arthur had had enough of Kate's agitation and Dora was baptized

to cool off the situation. Don lost his last hold on his regular publisher's status and slid into total inactivity. The private study he had counted on for four hours a month could not be counted once Dora was baptized.

In 1966 Dora and Arthur announced their engagement and began making plans for a wedding the following June. Kate, although still not approving of 'the match' because of Dora's inferior status as a marginal publisher, was determined that if there was to be a wedding in the family she would organize it. Kate threw herself into planning the ultimate display, determined to make of Arthur and Dora's wedding "a real witness" for all comers. The constant fussing with preparations and the potentially enormous bill she was promising to run up for Don and Rose made Arthur and Dora reconsider. Don's company had recently moved to New York and he had refused to follow. He had procured employment for himself, but the income to which the Dorsets had become accustomed was gone forever. The final straw was the guest list drawn up entirely by Kate without consulting the Dorsets. It was three hundred names long and over half of those names were unknown to either Dora or Arthur.

Donna had been married in the Dorset home the year before the Kingdom Hall had been completed; to cut expenses, Dora and Arthur decided to follow Donna's example. In addition, they decided to advance the date of the wedding to the turn of the new year to put an early end to Kate's constant remonstrations. Rose and Don, relieved to see expectations reduced to an affordable level, readily agreed to the new plans. But the rest of the congregation and dozens of Witnesses from neighbouring congregations were disappointed that Kate's verbal invitations, already extended, were not to materialize. Furthermore, such a hasty change in plans could signal only one thing: early pregnancy. And early pregnancy meant fornication. And fornication meant probation, at the very least. After all, the Organization's social principles stipulate that the ultimate goal of each young couple socially is a Kingdom Hall wedding. So all members interpreted the home wedding, and an early one at that, as "proof" that Dora and Arthur had been *denied* a Kingdom Hall wedding because of "conduct unbecoming to a Christian."

When the rumours surfaced after the wedding, with people asking if the new grandchild had arrived

yet, Rose and Don were horrified, Dora and Arthur were angry, and Kate heaped blame on Dora and Arthur for creating a bad impression. Dora and Arthur had already discussed their growing doubts about the theological doctrine of the Witnesses. Arthur had come to the point where the severing of all ties with his mother was not entirely without redeeming benefits to his own peace of mind, but Dora's deep love for her parents and subsequent fear of formally enforced alienation from them kept the couple associating with the Witnesses, however tenuously, until their geographic displacement made total withdrawal a more private and less disruptive event.

Of all the individuals in the micro-society, Dave Darset and Don Dorset are two of only three people who have, in my presence, ever allowed their disappointment to surface regarding the failure of 1975 to bring Armageddon. On one occasion in 1976 at a gathering of both the Dorset and Darset families, Dave was telling tales of his early experiences as a Witness. At the end he was still smiling, but tears had welled in his eyes and in a barely audible whisper he finished, "It's just that we've had to wait for so long, to work so hard, and one does get tired." Lively chattered

assurances from the rest of the family soon erased the visible sadness and Dave at seventy is still waiting -- still working.

Don, more recently retired, has moved with Rose to a new home nearer their daughter Donna Gates and her family. When they moved Rose quit her job two years before the official retirement age. When I asked Don if Rose was retiring early to avoid the long distance commuting from their new home, Don answered "No." After an awkward silence he added, "It's just that we want to spend what time we have left *together*." This was a moving statement coming from a man who had waited with Armageddon around the corner for forty-five years in the assured conviction that neither he nor Rose would ever die.

IV

The Balfour Family

The two families discussed so far in this chapter were in fact the "founders" of the micro-society which had developed by 1965. The remaining three families, including the Balfours, began their association with the Witnesses in other congregations, joining the core group of this ethnographic exploration in the post-war years.

The Balfour family can be traced to a young couple named Jenkins, who lived in a metropolitan community during the First World War. The reasons for their initial association were never clearly established; both have been dead for several years now. However, it was verified that both husband and wife dated their association to the pre-1914 period and both considered their destiny to be union with Christ in heaven as members of the anointed "Remnant". After the war was over they vested their total energies in the reconstruction of

the Society in Canada. For several years they remained childless and fully involved in preaching activities. Jane came as a late-in-life surprise in 1932.

By the time Jane was born, the heavenly register was full, and all those of Jane's generation were necessarily of "the other sheep" who would remain on earth. The chasm caused by alternative destinies, as well as the wide difference in actual age, helped to alienate the lonely Jane from both her parents and their visions. Nevertheless, Jane had received a rigid upbringing and by the time she entered her teens she would automatically rebuff the advances of any "worldly" admirers with the statement, "I am one of Jehovah's Witnesses." Bart Balfour was no exception. Ever since he had graduated from high school in 1948, he had had a crush on Jane Jenkins. Three times he had asked her for a date, and three times she had turned him down cold. He might as well have been of a different species altogether, tied as he seemed to be to the United Church of Canada.

A crack in the ice seemed to develop in 1949, when Jane secured employment at the largest factory in town -- at that time the *only* major factory -- where Bart himself had been working for a little more than

six months. Fortuitously, Bart was assigned to Jane for "on-the-job-training." At last, Bart had an opportunity to impress Jane with his easy-going manner and infectious sense of humour. As the months went by Bart began to pressure Jane to marry, but such was her fear of her parents' censure that she kept putting off the issue. Late in the fall of 1949 Jane found herself pregnant and unmarried. She feared her parents to the point where she could not bring herself to tell them about her predicament or her desire to marry Bart. By the end of January, 1950, the pregnancy was obvious and a shocked congregation heaped reproach upon the young woman. The name of the father was demanded and she was ordered to marry him in a fashion which made it apparent that marriage to a worldly man was to be part of the punishment. She was also placed on probation.

Bart was perfectly content to be able to marry Jane and both were delighted when a daughter, Betty, arrived later in 1950. The humiliation suffered by Jane was severe, but the fear of her domineering parents prevailed and she served her probation without complaint. Bart was impressed by her perseverance, and largely to "make life easier" for Jane began to

study with the Witnesses himself. At the international assembly held in New York in 1953, Bart was baptized and by 1956 had been appointed to a servant's position. He and Jane had a son, Brian, in 1958. Life had fallen into a comfortable routine by then, but the young couple were always haunted by the spectre of their public humiliation stemming from the circumstances surrounding Betty's birth. They both desired to move to a new congregation where "no one would know"; so in 1959 Bart and Jane moved into the congregation of the ethnographic micro-society. Officially, the reason for the move was that Bart had found a new job which would allow him more free time to spend on the service. They left home with everyone's blessing and life began anew.

The idyllic period of happiness which descended upon the Balfour household in their new town and new congregation ended abruptly with the birth of a third child. Neither Jane nor Bart had realized that they were haunted by the RH factor that was the cause of "blue-babies," as they were popularly called at that time.

Bart understood implicitly the stand taken by Jehovah's Witnesses on the "blood transfusion issue."

According to the Society, in its formal position statement,

The law God gave to Noah made it unlawful for anyone to eat blood, that is, to use it for nourishment or to sustain life. Since this is wrong in the case of animal blood, it is even more reprehensible in the case of human blood. The prohibition included "any blood at all." (Leviticus 3: 17). It has no bearing on the matter that the blood is not introduced through the veins. Nor does the argument that it cannot be classed with intravenous feeding because its use in the body is different carry weight. The fact is that it provides nourishment to the body to sustain life (BMLG 1969: 14).

Bart did not want to lose his new baby. He did not want the baby to lose *everlasting* life either, which she would surely do if he weakened. Nor did he want to lose everlasting life and in the process subject himself and Jane to a more severe rerun of the probation humiliation. If he were to sign the document that the doctors kept thrusting in front of him, he would be risking exactly that. He refused to sign.

"But the baby *will die!*" the doctors argued.

"She'll be resurrected. Jehovah will resurrect her. She'll be resurrected directly into the New World where she won't be sick," Bart calmly repeated. Time was rapidly running out for the infant. The doctors despaired of "getting through" to Bart and immediately petitioned the Children's Aid Society, who

in turn petitioned a judge for permission to take custody of the child for medical reasons.

Meanwhile, during the wait for the court order, the local hospital where Brenda had been born decided that under the circumstances the child would require more sophisticated care than their staff or facilities could furnish. But the ambulance company would not, under the same circumstances, take the responsibility of transferring the now critically ill youngster. The incubator containing the infant was therefore placed in the back seat of Bart's car and he was left to make the journey alone. He was never able to justify his actions in that he *did* drive straight to the central hospital rather than into hiding where the child would have died without ever receiving the forbidden blood transfusion.

Even as Bart drove, lawyers for the Watch Tower Society haggled with lawyers of the Children's Aid Society; but to no avail for the Witnesses. By the time Brenda had been admitted the court order had been issued and she was whisked away to be given the first of several transfusions. The Witness doctrine that blood not be ingested in any form by any manner had been violated. Bart waited with bated breath for the

Society's reaction. Certainly the flood of mail that arrived in the wake of the well-publicized case helped him to believe that he had acted correctly; in fact, for a while, he and Jane sunned themselves in the approbation of the Society and the sympathy of local members. Yet Bart could not ultimately forgive himself entirely and took out his frustrations and worries on his other children, especially Betty.

According to Betty's own account in later years, the "heroic" performance and public glory surrounding Brenda's entry into the world should have expiated all of Bart's "past sins" in one fell swoop. Instead, it seemed that Betty became the living embodiment of shame, and the treatment to which she was subjected grew increasingly brutal and violent. On one occasion Bart had to do some very fast talking to keep the neighbours from lodging a formal complaint with his old adversary, the Children's Aid Society. The C.A.S. was, in any case, watching the Balfours closely, to see how they were behaving towards the young Brenda. As it turned out, the Balfours were very protective of Brenda, but the ten-year-old Betty was getting short shrift.

For the next five years, tension dominated the family. Financial problems grew faster than Bart's pay cheque. Jane, who had been denied the simplest luxuries as a child, was determined to have more creature comforts as her children grew up. Finally, she herself got a job, but every day fights arose over money matters. Jane began to drink for solace and Bart's vitriolic attacks on Betty intensified. As Jane became more frequently drunk she became less presentable to the Christian community, and Betty was expected to "fill the gap." Bart forced her to go from house to house in every kind of weather -- she alone had to represent the family at function after function. Besides, had he not proven himself to Jehovah in a very dramatic and public forum, when, like Abraham, he had offered to sacrifice his child, even though the execution was ultimately stayed? Surely Jehovah could not deny him paradise after that!

Resentment grew in Betty; she regarded herself as having one friend and one friend alone -- Dora Dorset. According to Betty's own description, the only respite from parental abuse had been occasional weekends spent at the Dorset home where the gentle Rose and Don never yelled at or came close to striking Dora.

Then in 1964, Betty watched in frustration and with a growing sense of loneliness as her best friend became more and more involved with the returning missionary, Arthur Arbuckle. Already, at the age of 14, she had decided that she would never make a Jehovah's Witness. Jehovah was too vindictive a god for her, she told me, many years later, and her father was living proof that man was created in God's image. She wanted out before she ever really got *in*; she did not want -- ever -- to "get baptized." Dora's own apparent lack of enthusiasm was precisely what Betty most cherished in her friend. It upset Betty that Dora was bent on becoming so attached to the very epitome of conviction -- an overseas missionary. Fear of ostracism kept each locked within her own private world of doubt in which neither dared let the other share.

Betty began to cast about for a new *confidant*. She turned to Colin Constable. The main attraction was his increasingly obvious lack of true commitment to the Witnesses. His natural charm and satirical wit endeared him even further to the desperately lonely Betty. As her parents' relationship deteriorated, they became more pointed in the accusations that, if it had not been for Betty, they would never have married each

other in the first place. Betty, by now still only fifteen, could not leave home legally *unless* she were to become pregnant; in that case the Society's code of ethics would demand that she marry. She and Colin discussed the idea. By October of 1965, Betty was indeed pregnant and dropped out of school, marrying Colin in March, 1966. In June their daughter Catherine was born. Colin had prepared his "defense" in advance. He was put on probation after declaring that he had had intercourse with Betty "only once, in a moment of weakness." More than once would not have been "slip"; it would have constituted "*immoral practice*," "*sinful habit*," and would have resulted in the disfellowshipping of Colin. He knew the rules and played the game well. Humbly, he worked through his period of probation, as failure to comply with the committee's prescribed behaviour might still have led to disfellowshipping. When his probation was over he began to disassociate himself gradually. His battle had been won. He had his wife and child, and he had escaped being officially ostracised from the rest of his family.

Betty had never been baptized, so the formal punishments were not applicable in her case. She attended meetings with Colin while he was on probation

to spare him further problems that would come his way if he was not regulating his wife's life in accordance with divine principles. When Colin safely passed his personal Rubicon, Betty sighed a huge sigh of relief and never again set foot in a Kingdom Hall.

In many ways the older generation suffered more than Colin and Betty did. Both Carl Constable and Bart were stripped of their responsible positions within the congregation. Once more the social doctrine hit hard. According to the Bible, fathers must "control" their children:

And you, fathers, do not be irritating your children, but go on bringing them up in the discipline and mental-regulating of Jehovah (*Ephesians* 6: 4, *NWT*).

The behaviour of Colin and Betty was proof that their fathers had *failed* -- because they had failed to "mentally-regulate" them to the social proprieties and "laws" of the Organization.

Brian was quite disillusioned by his sister falling by the wayside, and from 1966 to 1975 went on the service only to keep his father company during the latter's sporadic attempts at "activity." Jane's drinking problem was becoming critical, and by 1975 even young Brenda was appearing from time to time with her father out of a sense of pity for his

increasingly unpleasant home situation and social rejection within the congregation. It was becoming increasingly difficult for Bart to "hold his head up" and retain his sense of self worth.

As for Jane herself, a decided decline in her personal life set in with Betty's pregnancy. Cumulatively, the social sniping from the same people who had, so few years ago, heaped praise on her for facing Brenda's ordeal "courageously," drove her more and more to the use of alcohol. By 1975 her condition had deteriorated to the point where her behaviour was decidedly "unbecoming a Christian" and she was disfellowshipped. Jane had at best been a marginally regular publisher (one hour per month every month), rarely making a significant contribution to the congregation's vital statistics. Yet socially, she clearly had an impact on the group. And the group reaction has in turn had a profound impact on her. According to Betty, her mother's problem deepens with each passing year precisely because she *does* still believe the basic doctrine. Jane cringes when she thinks of her parents, now both in heaven with Christ for the purpose of judging the wicked, looking down upon her in disgust and shame. And she broods over images of her inescapable

destruction at Armageddon, incapable of facing the painful and humiliating experience to which repentance would necessarily lead.

As for Bart and his two younger children, their energy fizzled out in 1975 when Armageddon failed to materialize. Both Brian and Brenda have since found "worldly mates," and Bart now spends much of his time as a consultant sitting in his armchair, smoking a pipe. Both Bart and Jane take extreme care to avoid any contact -- even when shopping in local stores -- with the Witnesses.

V

The Constable Family

As the daughter of one of the first Witnesses to live in Quebec, Lee Lassier was used to violent opposition -- if not outright persecution -- and had learned to be careful. During the Second World War, while the ban was on, her father had been arrested in the very first crackdown. He had been released in 1942, but preached all the harder during the next two years until he was arrested a second time in 1944. He was still in camp in the summer of 1946, one of seventy-three still held until long after the war had ended. Partly owing to a letter campaign organized by Mrs. Lassier, John Diefenbaker asked the Government of Canada how many Jehovah's Witnesses were being held in concentration camps (Hansard 10 July, 1946). Within a week, Lassier had been freed.

In the meantime, Mrs. Lassier and Lee had moved to Toronto to "help out" in the branch office during a critical post-war phase, and it was in Toronto that Lee met Carl Constable, who attended the congregation that met at the Bethel. A conscientious objector, Carl

had waited at home while his older brothers went overseas to fight. His eldest brother had been killed at Dunkirk. A second brother had gone overseas loudly vowing to avenge his brother's "murder." Soon, he too went missing in action. Carl readily admits that he was scared of the prospect of war, and hearing that one organization at least supported conscientious objectors, he joined Jehovah's Witnesses in 1945, steeling himself against his father's disapprobation and the inevitable labour camp. Neither was forthcoming: the government was hardly going to press a *third* son into action, and Mr. Constable was sufficiently fretful about his two oldest sons that he failed to notice the drift of his third son, who was baptized in 1945.

Lee and Carl were married in August, 1946 in Toronto City Hall after a preliminary service in the Kingdom Hall. Mr. Lassier, who had returned from labour camp with a serious case of bronchial pneumonia, was on hand to "give Lee away." Carl's parents refused to enter the Kingdom Hall, but attended the civil ceremony. The newlyweds had intended to pioneer for a few years, possibly entering the

circuit work,¹ but after six months of pioneer work, Lee found that her pregnancy was sapping too much of her energy to continue. Cissy was born in 1947, and Carl began to look for a full-time job to support his growing family. This search brought the family into the congregation of the ethnographic micro-society later that same year.

The couple settled into small-town life and their family continued to grow: Colin was born in 1948, Carey in 1950, Connie in 1951, Colleen in 1953, Candy in 1955 and Casper in 1960. By the time Casper was born, Cissy and Colin were already baptized, and Carey, Connie and Colleen were active publishers.

Shortly after Carl and Lee were married, the Lassiers had moved back to Quebec, where they were to engage in full-time pioneer work for many years in this difficult "territory." The Constables were proud

1. . All areas of the world in which Jehovah's Witnesses are active are divided into "Districts" supervised by District Servants. Each District is in turn divided into "Circuits" supervised by a Circuit Servant. These prestigious positions are the official links between Brooklyn headquarters and the 43,000 congregations of the world.

of their family's continuing contribution to the growth of the organization over the years, and the children were raised on stories of their maternal grandparents' trials, tribulations and joys in serving Jehovah full-time. Cissy followed eagerly in their footsteps, quitting school a year before graduation to become a full-time pioneer herself. Colin followed suit in leaving school a year early; but his reasons cast a cloud over Cissy's achievements.

Whereas Cissy had adored her grandparents and sought always to please her father, Colin regarded his father as being authoritarian in the extreme. A sense of resentment had grown in Colin from an early age. His carefree approach to life never permitted him to match the zeal of the more serious Cissy. In his father's eyes, Cissy was the "model" child; so when Cissy was baptized in 1960, twelve-year-old Colin followed suit to keep his father happy. Almost immediately Colin began to regret his baptism. He knew it meant an eternal "dedication" to Jehovah and Jehovah's Witnesses. There could be no retracting his *promise*. The prospects of becoming a carbon-copy of Cissy had turned Colin's life into a nightmare. He spent more and more time with "worldly" school friends,

and eventually ran for class president; he was elected despite Jehovah's Witnesses' censure of the democratic process. And finally, he smoked. Smoking was not then regarded as a disfellowshippable offence (as it has been since 1973), but nobody who smoked would be considered for a servant's position in the congregation. That was fine with Colin. All through his last year in high school, he smoked. Finally his parents learned his dark secret and deluged him with scriptural recriminations, declaring that smoking was "an unclean thing". Colin had had enough of religious piety and strict parents. The meek, uncommitted Betty Balfour represented everything Colin wanted at the moment -- a friend not committed to the Organization.

In the final analysis, Colin wanted to escape his home life as much as Betty did hers; their solution to the problem has already been described in the preceding discussion of the Balfour family. Colin added to Betty's account of events by pointing out that he enjoyed being able to "level" his father for once. When he cheerfully told his father that Betty was pregnant and he was going to marry her, Carl yelled at him to "Get out!" Colin did.

When asked about the ramifications of his behaviour, Colin agreed with Betty that the parents on both sides had suffered more than either Colin or Betty had. As Colin put it, "I got the heavy end of the official 'big stick', but our parents had to put up with the social rejection of people they really cared about." He described the chatter that went on behind both Lee's and Jane's backs and confirmed that they were snubbed, virtually despised, by others in the congregation. Many Witnesses made it quite clear that they did not want *their* children to associate with *any* of the Constable or Balfour children. "It became so bad," Colin explained,

that Betty and I almost died of shock when Dora and Arthur came for a visit. I broke into a cold sweat when I opened the door and saw them. I expected another "put down", but they were really nice. They even brought a present for the baby. We were so surprised!

Carl and Lee put on a brave front, and having abandoned all hopes of Colin ever rising within the organizational ranks, put their hope and trust in their other children. Their insistence upon excellence in service intensified with varying results. Cissy continued pioneering with increased zeal. Carey, too, did his part to compensate for his brother's weakness. Active since 1958, he started pioneering in 1968 and

finally married another pioneer, Minnie Madan, in 1972. They are currently involved in the circuit work overseas.

Connie and Colleen had always idolized the more relaxed Colin and preferred to follow his example. In 1967, Connie got pregnant. She announced it quietly to her mother, who in a telephone call announced it, quietly, to her mother, who allegedly suggested that, since the family had had enough scandal with Colin, Connie should, quietly, get an abortion. They were not quiet enough, however, and the committee of elders heard about it. Connie was disfellowshipped in 1968. She moved in with Colin and Betty for two years, where she met Norman Norris and married him in 1970, a marriage which ended in divorce two years later.

Colleen, who had been baptized a year later than Connie, in 1965, completed high school at about the time that Norman and Connie were married. Unlike Connie, she had remained active as a regular publisher during Colin's difficult time. For a while, she was intimidated, by the attack on Colin and her parents, into walking the straight and narrow. But Connie's pregnancy was more than Colleen could bear. She dropped out and became pregnant herself. Claiming that because

the father was a respected member of the Witness community she could not name him, she put herself in the position of a lengthy wait before reinstatement after her disfellowshipping. During that time she did not miss one meeting, despite the fact that she was socially snubbed. Firmly believing in the advent of Armageddon in 1975, she pleaded persistently to be reinstated, and subsequently became an ardent publisher once again.

Lee, however, had suffered enough social censure on behalf of her children. She became inactive after Armageddon retreated back "around the corner."

VI

The Arbuckle Family

Kate Arbuckle (nee Keller) was born in 1918 in London England. Her father, an itinerant London bus driver, claimed to belong to the Church of England, and her mother to "the Old Religion", which Kate somewhat naively took to mean Roman Catholicism. Attending a Church of England girl's school, she received her teaching diploma with top honours in 1937. In 1939, she met and married Anse Arbuckle, an officer in the Royal Air Force. But their marriage -- and her happiness -- was to be short-lived. They had a daughter, Amy, in 1941 and a son Arthur, in 1943, but three months after Arthur's birth, Anse Arbuckle went missing in action; confirmation of his death did not arrive until 1945.

In addition to her husband, Kate lost a brother in the Second World War -- a brother to whom she was always very close (they sang together in the choir in Westminster Abbey, for example). But the war was to have an even more devastating personal affect on the bereaved widow. According to her own account of events, she was raped by a returning soldier in 1945

and became pregnant. So great was her shame that she left her two children with relatives and sequestered herself in a special maternity home some distance from London until the child was born. She had intended to give the child up for adoption rather than face Anse with an illegitimate child at the end of the war, but when confirmation of his death arrived, she decided to adopt the little girl herself; thus Alice came into the Arbuckle family officially and irrevocably as an "adopted" daughter. Kate moved to a tiny village near an English aerodrome in housing subsidized by the government for "war widows" -- a label she proudly wore until her death in 1980. She was acutely conscious of being cut adrift spiritually -- of being without leadership, and without a husband to console her in a world full of suffering and pain. She had tried to strengthen her existing ties with the Church of England, but found the support she needed in her personal life lacking within that Church's structure. She also stated her disapproval of the Church of England's practice of infant baptism.

In 1947, Kate was first contacted by Jehovah's Witnesses in their door-to-door campaign. She listened to a sermon on the resurrection of the dead and their new life in a paradise on earth and found much of what the Witnesses had to say about the

resurrection consonant with her personal dreams of living once again on earth (rather than in heaven) with her beloved Anse. It was the prospect of the resurrection, coupled with the symbolic values provided by the promise of a New World in which there would be no more pain, suffering or death that most appealed to Kate; thirty-three years later, on her death bed, she still talked of the promise of being reunited with Anse -- despite the fact that she had remarried.

In 1948, Kate studied with the Witnesses, accepted "service" to the organization as the means to achieve her personal ends, and became a regular publisher. She was baptized the same year and immediately began taking her children with her out on the service, where they were required to give a little presentation with a view to placing magazines. Amy from age eight, and Arthur from age six, were to be regular publishers. Arthur gave his first sermon from the platform of the Kingdom Hall at age six.

Hearing that a Jehovah's Witness ran a private boarding school for Witness children, Kate sent Amy away to school in 1949, where she was to be joined in 1951 by her young brother. Subsequently, the

school was closed down and, for reasons linked to alleged apostasy, the principal of the school was disfellowshipped and branded a member of "the Evil Slave Class" -- a renegade member of the anointed "Remnant".

Kate's primary problem, however, remained the birth of Alice "out of wedlock". In order to leave behind the stigma once and for all, after attending an international convention in New York in 1953, Kate made preparations to immigrate to Canada. Once in Canada, Kate claimed not only that Alice was in fact her own daughter, but also that her husband had died in 1945, subsequent to Alice's conception. While this tiny lie may seem totally appropriate and insignificant, one white lie led to another as more than once members of the local congregation brought her up short, pointing out inconsistencies in her descriptions of life in England. Despite the quizzical looks of Witness friends, Kate "stuck to her story" until she lay on her death bed. It was exceedingly important to Kate to be accepted into the social world of Jehovah's Witnesses as a pure and unsullied war widow -- untouched by the moral turpitude of behaviour unacceptable within their world view.

For years, Kate was at the core of her congregation, preaching during every available hour, putting in far above her monthly "quotas" and pioneering whenever possible -- especially during the summers when her teaching duties were minimal. By a conservative estimate, she spent 15,000 hours in the ministry over thirty-two years. Yet for all her effort, besides her own children, she claimed only one female convert to Jehovah's Witnesses who subsequently brought her husband and son into the Organization.¹ None of Kate's children claim to have brought anyone into the Organization other than their own children despite their composite hour, Bible Study and literature placement records.

Children are extremely important to the Witnesses and Kate was most insistent that her children keep pace with her in the preaching work. Alice became an active publisher at age eight in 1954; Arthur put

1. During 1980, 9,200,903 hours were put in by Canadian publishers for an additional 1,657 new publishers. That amounts to 5,553 hours of preaching for each new convert. Over the entire decade, the number of hours amounted to 98,906,037 for an average of 5,022 hours of preaching per convert. The efficiency would be much higher if it were not for the high drop-out rate, which effectively doubles the time required for a statistical increase of one member.

in pioneer hours (100 a month) every summer from 1954 through 1961 while he was under his mother's roof, and Amy pioneered in the summers of 1955 and 1956. Arthur was baptized at a major New York assembly in 1955 at the age of twelve, while Amy was made to wait, after her mother declared, in the wake of an argument at the assembly, that Amy was "unfit" to be baptized. Arthur remembers revelling in the fact that for once within the highly competitive environment created by Kate, he was able to "upstage" his older sister.

Arthur's jubilation was short-lived. Returning to Canada from the New York assembly, he was employed by a longstanding Jehovah's Witness, picking berries and vegetables. The Witness, unknown to either Kate or Arthur, already had a reputation as a child-molester, although nobody had ever pressed charges. Less than a month after his baptism, Arthur was raped in a homosexual attack, and subsequently became embroiled in tribunal hearings within the congregation against his assailant, who was eventually disfellowshipped. Normally, a disfellowshipped person who is repentant and expresses his repentance by appearing for all public meetings during which he is barred from

any social contact with other members will be reinstated after a maximum of two years. Despite complying with all the necessary protocol and making pointed pleas to be reinstated over the next *three* years, the man died in disgrace in 1958 at the age of seventy-one. The Witnesses refused to conduct the funeral services, and the man's son declared openly that Arthur had not only *killed* the man, but damned him to eternal obliteration. Arthur believed this too and the psychological pressure eventually began to make inroads into Arthur's own self-evaluation of "worthiness".

In 1959, Amy dropped out of high school (she had enrolled in the Commercial stream that was recommended by the Society as being the most practical) and married Edgar Emerson, a servant in the congregation. Alice, four years younger, was baptized in 1961 at an assembly in London, England, which Alice, Arthur and Kate all attended. Subsequently, the trio was to spend a month smuggling the Society's anti-Franco literature into Spain, risking charges of sedition and possible imprisonment. Arthur, having

finished his technical school program in machine shop and auto mechanics (again, a program recommended by the Society), travelled overseas, where he was to become a pioneer and servant. Alice graduated from the Commercial high school program in 1963. By then Kate was pioneering full-time, having quit her teaching position, and Alice joined her as a pioneer.

After two years of service overseas, Arthur had been put on probation for insubordination when he refused to tell a woman who was being disfellowshipped for alleged adultery that she was in fact disfellowshipped. The woman, who was dying of terminal cancer, had in desperation called upon an oriental acupuncturist to help ease her pain. Acupuncture was regarded as "demonism," so she could not defend herself against the charges of adultery by telling the Witnesses that she was having acupuncture treatments every night. Sins of the flesh such as adultery are somehow, in the imagination, not quite the abominations of sins of the spirit. That an all-knowing God such as Jehovah would know the truth in any case is of no moment: it is to the Organization that one must answer. In this case, the acupuncturist had been seen to come and go at all hours, and the Witnesses had assumed the "worst,"

disfellowshipping her for adultery that, in Arthur's view, was never proven despite the tribunal's attempts to extract damning evidence from the woman's young children. Arthur believed himself to be saddled already with the eternal loss of one soul and was not about to accept responsibility for another, and hence refused, even when pushed through the door of her room by the other committee members, to relay the directed message. When Arthur indicated that, on the contrary, her soul was safe, the woman lapsed into unconsciousness and robbed the Organization of its opportunity to punish her. She died without regaining consciousness.

By mid-1963, Arthur was eager to escape the social situation of snubbing and sniping which developed by the end of his hearing. He returned to Canada that fall, his probation papers following him back to Kate's congregation. The same social environment would develop immediately at home if word of Arthur's probation ever became public; so Kate discussed the matter with the congregation overseer and it was agreed to keep the probation secret as long as Arthur continued to attend meeting and "service arrangements" to show a repentant spirit. It must be noted that Kate's concern was not for Arthur alone. She expressly feared for

the "family's reputation," for although this sort of thing happened in *other* families, it could never happen in *hers*.

The possibility of attending university had never so much as occurred to Arthur prior to his ignominious return to Canada, but in 1964, upon the recommendation of a former teacher, Arthur applied for admission to university and, against the advice and wishes of the local congregation, became a full-time student. The same year, while avoiding the attentions of young female pioneers from all over the circuit, Arthur began "associating" with Dora Dorset against the express wishes of Kate who argued that the relationship was "dangerous" because, as already mentioned, Dora was not baptized (she had not publicly *dedicated* her life to Jehovah), and her parents were "not strong in the Truth."

In 1966, Kate was remarried to Ian Isbister who had been associating with the Witnesses since the war when his status as conscientious objector earned him incarceration in a labour camp with several Witnesses. Ian had spent years attending meetings without showing the slightest inclination for becoming involved in preaching. After years of courtship, Kate finally made it clear to

him in 1964 that he would have to become totally involved in preaching if he seriously expected her to marry him. Ian complied and the couple married in 1966. Earlier that same year, Dora had been baptized "to please Kate"; Arthur announced his engagement to Dora just after Kate's wedding. Kate objected strenuously, but all to no avail. As early as 1963, Kate had travelled overseas to halt wedding proceedings between Arthur and his non-White fiancée on the grounds that Arthur, at twenty, was too young. (Legally, he required Kate's written permission until the age of twenty-one). Arthur was not prepared for any more interference in his marital arrangements on the part of Kate. He and Dora were married early the next year as described in the discussion of the Dorset family.

Arthur and Dora were already preparing to remove themselves from the Witnesses, but they continued a tenuous relationship with the Organization to spare Dora's parents any further decline in their already shaky social situation and to avoid the otherwise constant harassment by Kate. Two years after their marriage, Arthur graduated and the couple was finally free to move half way across the continent.

Meanwhile, as established in the Emerson's history, Amy had had two children, a daughter Eleanor in 1963 and a son Emery in 1968. In 1969, Alice married Franklin Farthing, who, like Alice, had been pioneering for several years. They too have two children. Arthur and Dora have three children.

As 1975 neared, Kate became more and more frenetic in her attempts to convince Arthur to turn back to "the Truth" before it was too late. At home she reviewed publicly the slim performances of Don and Rose in service during the 1960's and blamed them openly for *Dora's* drift from the group; she declared that if Don and Rose had not been so "lax" with Dora, Dora could not have "strayed" from "the Truth" and "seduced" Arthur to go along with her. She travelled the four thousand mile round trip three times that year to visit Arthur. She told him of nightmares which revolved around her reunion in paradise with Anse and her inability to explain how she had failed and lost his son to eternal death. She had sought to drive that point home during an early 1975 visit by giving the Arbuckle's eldest child, Angela, a stiff handshake and saying "Goodbye Angela. I don't expect ever to see you alive again."

Kate's frustration with Arthur's continued apparent lack of initiative in marshalling his family back into the front lines of the preaching legions grew with passing time. She could not understand, as she explained to each and every adult member of her home congregation, how "Arthur, *knowing* it's the Truth, can jeopardize his own life and that of his children." The remonstrations included vitriolic attacks upon Dora, who in Kate's opinion (much to the embarrassment of Don and Rose) had so "blinded" Arthur that Arthur seemed not to understand that he was "in danger of murdering his own children." Dora and Arthur listened to reports of such statements in a silent frustration of their own. To clarify once and for all for Kate that Arthur and Dora knew precisely what they were doing would have put Don and Rose in the painful position of having to choose between the Organization to which they had dedicated fifty years of life, and the daughter they loved; for Dora and Arthur would be summarily disfellowshipped if they ever explained their position.

The year 1975 finally arrived, but Armageddon did not. Kate, who had so thoroughly geared herself to the arrival of the "War of the Great Day of God the

Almighty," suffered a personal and irrevocable decline in health during the early months of 1976. She and her husband had sold all their property years before. They (like many others in similar situations) had taken out term insurance designed to run out at the end of 1975 when "this system of things" would be destroyed and (according to popular belief) nobody would be around to collect loans and debts. Kate and Ian had also cashed in, wherever possible, pension plans and superannuation funds. With Kate, who from the beginning of her association with the Witnesses had needed *answers*, a period of instability entered the picture -- especially when she was informed that she had terminal cancer. The resurrection had always been for *Anse*, despite the fact that he had never known the Witnesses and had been killed during a bombing raid for the Royal Air Force in which hundreds of German civilians lost their lives. The possibility of Kate herself dying had not entered consciousness for over thirty years. Kate was totally unprepared to face death. As the third person to exhibit disappointment, months before her death she admitted, "I worked so hard to insure I would make it through Armageddon. I've taken good care of myself to stay healthy. I can't help feeling rather betrayed."

still Kate wanted to "reach" Arthur. Ever since Arthur and Dora had moved away from "home" she had them pursued at every turn by people in the congregation closest to each new location the couple chose. The failure of these attempts to retrieve her son, coupled with her own, did not crush her hopes. If Armageddon's failure to arrive as scheduled put her chances of surviving it alive in danger, it at least gave her more time to make Arthur see sense. In 1979, Kate once more made the journey to Arthur's home against the express wishes of her doctors. She spent hours with her granddaughter, Angela, speaking in a voice all could hear, telling her why evolution could not be true, telling her how Jehovah God had set the rocks of the mountains just so and so to make them take on this shape or that, that chance could not have made such majesty. She talked especially about being reunited with Anse, living in paradise on earth "for ever and ever." She had talked frankly with her husband Ian about this, indicating that he would always be second husband to Anse -- to the embarrassment of both Ian and any others who happened to be present whenever the frequently-discussed subject came up in public forum.

After two weeks, Kate returned home, mission still unaccomplished. As her condition deteriorated further she *demande*d that Arthur declare openly his faith and *promise* to return to active service. In fact, she declared that she would not die until she received such assurances, and for many months limped along on intravenous feeding, steeling herself against the pain in ways which her various doctors declared was quite remarkable. When her condition was first diagnosed, they had removed most of her stomach in an operation in which they did not use blood transfusions; they had given her a ten percent chance to live through the operation *with* blood. Not only did she survive the operation, but struggled on for two more painful years. She obviously began to fear that Arthur would eventually give her the assurances she had demanded out of pity for her condition rather than out of true determination to return to the fold. Near the end, Arthur did try to put her mind at ease, but Kate was suspicious and continued her battle for life.

The psychological torture was beginning to take its toll on the entire family, including Arthur and Dora. Finally they helped the young Angela to compose a note to her grandmother. The note said, "Dear

Grandma, We all love you very much, and look forward to more, even better times in a new world." So they *did* want life in *The New World*! According to Amy, who read the note to Kate, when she asked Kate if she had understood it, Kate was smiling. She squeezed Amy's hand and died -- convinced that (within the parameters of the Organization's worldview) the sins of her son would not be visited upon her, that she had not been derelict in her duty, that she had won, *earned*, a place in paradise with Anse -- secure in the memory of Jehovah.

For the rest of the family, however, life had to go on in *this* world. Kate's death was supposed to shock and motivate Dora and Arthur back into activity. Edgar, Amy, Alice and Franklin must now justify the continuing noninvolvement of Arthur and Dora. While they have not taken up Kate's role of active intervention in the lives of the wayward couple, they do regularly analyse the situation. In their collective opinion, Arthur has been "possessed" by the evil doctrine of evolution which they envision at the core of every university course. Because he does not force Dora to return to the flock with him he is also "possessed" by the ideas of his wife and is too weak

to resist her wiles. They state that Arthur *knows* that "the Truth" is THE TRUTH. They wonder how he can expect "to play around with 'the world'" and gain entry into paradise. They worry that Arthur enjoys *this* world while keeping a sharp eye out for signs of the *new* world approaching. In this way, they argue, he hopes to "jump back into the Organization" at the last minute. Such a practice is unconscionable to the Witnesses, especially to Arthur's siblings, who state that such behaviour is a clear sign that Arthur is a basically selfish individual who could not *possibly* love his own children.

Under the circumstances, the family has atomized since Kate's death. Amy and Alice commiserate with each other and Arthur and Dora become more and more alienated from both the Emersons and Farthings. In a paradoxical "late development," however, Eleanor Emerson arrived at Arthur and Dora's home late in 1981 to "seek asylum" from her Witness upbringing and a rather rigid and regimented family life that threatened her intellectual and educational development. This third-generation reaction to the Witness phenomenon -- a sudden abandonment of Witness dogma and doctrine once one reaches the age of majority -- seems fairly common, if not typical, of the movement.

VII

Schematization of the Microsociety

The following series of charts schematizes the microsociety so as to represent involvement from 1920 to 1980 at five-year intervals (Charts 1 to 7) and involvement during the "crisis period" from 1970 to 1980 at annual intervals (Charts 8 to 19). Chart 1 deals only with the original members of the first generation from the time of their conversion to the end of 1940. Chart 2 follows their progress from 1945 to 1980. The second generation of Witnesses are represented in Charts 3 and 4. Chart 5 contains data for the third generation, and Charts 6 and 7 contain data for all converts and their children. Charts 12 to 19 represent the same individuals at one-year intervals, following the same generational format.

The data contained in the nineteen charts in the series have been condensed numerically in Table 6 (page 158) and graphically in Table 7 (page 159). As indicated in these two final tables, although there were a total of seventy-nine sometime adherents to the microsociety, the projected congregation in 1980 had a total complement of only fifty-six active publishers, indicating both a steady rate of growth -- and a steady rate of attrition.

GLOSSARY FOR USE WITH CHART KEY

PIONEER	Member who spends a minimum of 100 hours per month in preaching activity.
SERVANT; ELDER	Member appointed to a responsible position within the congregation.
REGULAR PUBLISHER	Member who records a minimum of one hour <i>per month</i> in active preaching.
IRREGULAR PUBLISHER	Member who does <i>not</i> meet one hour per month minimum.
ATTENDING MEETINGS ONLY	"Inactive" member who fails to report preaching activity over a one year period.
REMNANT	Member who believes himself or herself to be one of 144,000 destined for heaven.
DISFELLOW- SHIPPED	Former member who has been totally ostracized from the group -- may attend Sunday meetings in silence if seeking "reinstatement".

K E Y



Pioneer, Servant or Elder



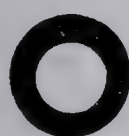
Regular Publisher



Irregular Publisher



Attending meetings only
(does not count officially
in the Society's statistics)



Indicates baptized by or
during the year indicated

+

Member of remnant



Disfellowshipped

M

Male

. Deceased

F

Female

B

"Born in"

CA

Adult Convert

CC

"Child Convert" coming in
with converting parents

CM

Convert through marriage


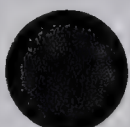



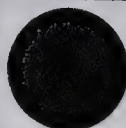





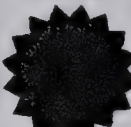
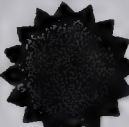



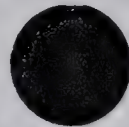



Chart 1		First Generation							
Name		1905	1910	1915	1920	1925	1930	1935	1940
Wynne Zuckerman	CA								
Zoe Emerson	CC								
Ed Emerson	CM								
Dave Darset	CA								
Oll Darset	CM								
Pat Darset	B								
Don Dorset	CA								
Rose Dorset	CA								
Lee Lassier Constable	B								




















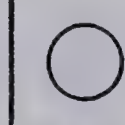
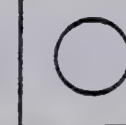






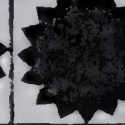
















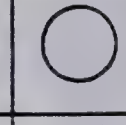







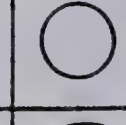

















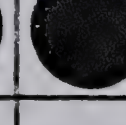

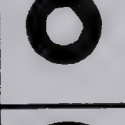





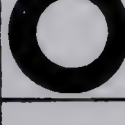








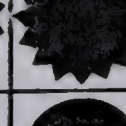










Chart 2		FIRST GENERATION							
Name		1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980
Wynne + Zuckerman CA									
Zoe Emerson CC									
Ed Emerson CM									
Dave Darset CA									
Oll Darset CM									
Pat Darset B									
Don Dorset CA									
Rose Dorset CA									
Lee Constable B									
Carl Constable CM									
Jane Balfour B									
Kate Arbuckle Isbister CA									
Bart Balfour CM									
Ian Isbister CA									











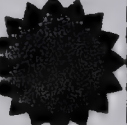




















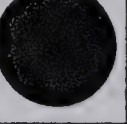



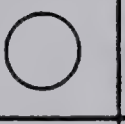







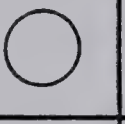





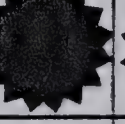

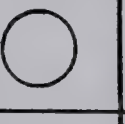





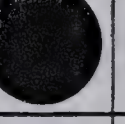

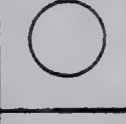


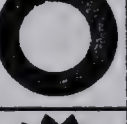














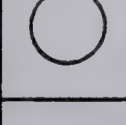










Chart 3		SECOND GENERATION							
Name		1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980
Amy Emerson	CC								
Arthur Arbuckle	CC								
Alice Farthing	CC								
Darren Darset	B								
Sally Darset	CM								
Donna Gates	B								
Edgar Emerson	B								
Quentin Quinn	B								
Darlene Quinn	B								
Dora Arbuckle	B								
Franklin Farthing	B								
Gordon Gates	CM								
Colin Constable	B								
Cissy Constable	B								












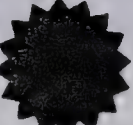
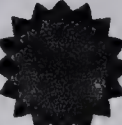

















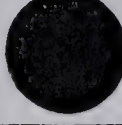








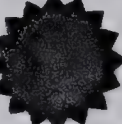























Chart 4		SECOND GENERATION						
Name	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980
Elsie Handcock B								
Carey Constable B								
Connie Norris B								
Betty Constable B								
Ulrich Usherwood CA								
Dana Usherwood B Vance								
Candy Constable B								
Harold Handcock CM								
Casper Constable B								
Brian Balfour B								
Brenda Balfour B								
Colleen Constable B								
Victor Vance CA								


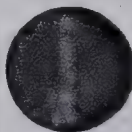

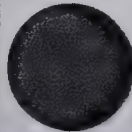
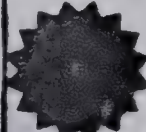

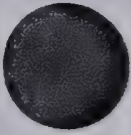



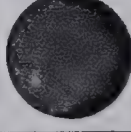

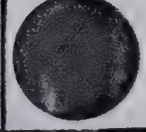

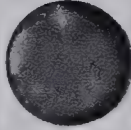
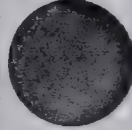



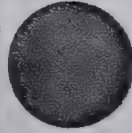

























Chart 5		THIRD GENERATION							
Name		1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980
Gwendolyn Gates	B								
Gabrielle Gates	B								
Georgina Gates	B								
Quartoni Quinn	B								
Querida Quinn	B								
Eleanor Emerson	B								
Emery Emerson	B								
Geraldine Gates	B								
Guinevere Gates	B								
Hilary Handcock	B								
Harriet Handcock	B								
Quiritus Quinn	B								
Darian Darset	B								
Dabina Darset	B								





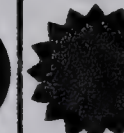
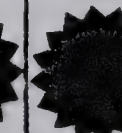
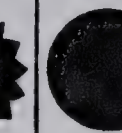



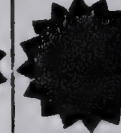
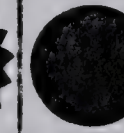

















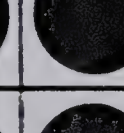






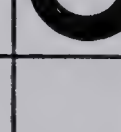











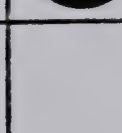
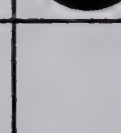
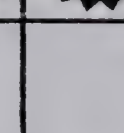



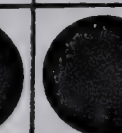























Chart 6		CONVERTS							
Name		1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980
Dave D. M Convert 1 CA									
Dave D. G Convert 2 CA									
Kate A. F Convert 1 CA									
Kate A. M Convert 2 CM									
Carl C. M Convert 1 CA									
Carl C. F Convert 2 CA									
Carl C. F Convert 3 CC									
Carl C. F Convert 4 CC									
Gordon G. M Convert 1 CA									
Gordon G. F Convert 2 CM									
Pat D. F Convert 1 CA									
Pat D. F Convert 2 CA									
Kate A. M Convert 3 CC									
Donna G. M Convert 1 CA									

Chart 7		CONVERTS						
Name	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980
Donna G. F Convert 2 CA								
Donna G. F Convert 3 CC								
Donna G. M Convert 4 CC								
Donna G. F Convert 5 CC								
Donna G. F Convert 6 CC								
Cissy C. F Convert 1 CA								
Cissy C. F Convert 2 CA								
Cissy C. M Convert 3 CC								
Pat D. M Convert 3 CA								
Pat D. F Convert 4 CA								
Pat D. M Convert 5 CC								
Pat D. M Convert 6 CC								
Quentin Q. M Convert 1 CA								
Quentin Q. F Convert 2 CA								

First Generation											
Name and Form of Introduction	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Wynne + Zuckerman CA						.					
Zoe Emerson CC	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○			
Ed Emerson CM	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Dave Darset CA	☼	☼	☼	☼	☼	☼	☼	☼	☼	☼	☼
Pat Darset B	●	●	●	●	◉	●	●	●	●	●	●
Don Dorset CA	○	○	○	●	●	●	●	●	●	○	○
Rose Dorset CA	○	○	○	○	●	●	●	●	●	○	○

Chart 8





























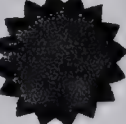
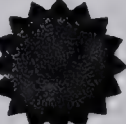


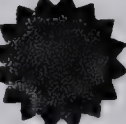
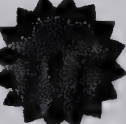



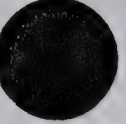
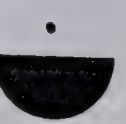
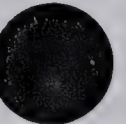
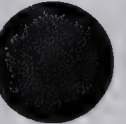

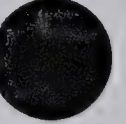
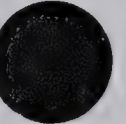








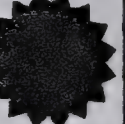

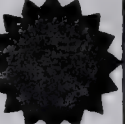



First Generation											
Name and Form of Introduction	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Lee Constable B											
Carl Constable CM											
Jane Balfour B											
Kate Arbuckle CA											
Bart Balfour CM											
Ian Isbister CA											

Chart 9










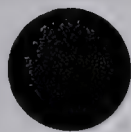

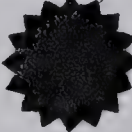
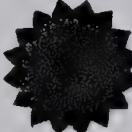
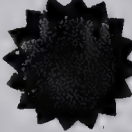
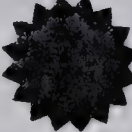
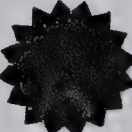
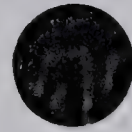



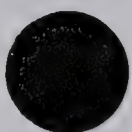



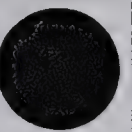






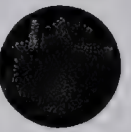







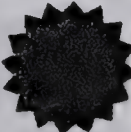
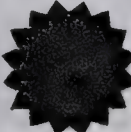
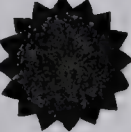
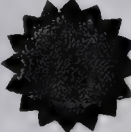

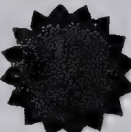





Second Generation											
Name and form of Introduction	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Amy Emerson CC											
Arthur Arbuckle CC											
Alice Farthing CC											
Darren Darset B											
Sally Darset CM											
Donna Gates B											
Edgar Emerson B											

Chart 10




















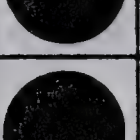








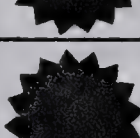
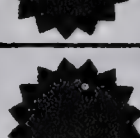



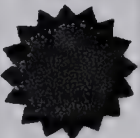



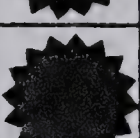

















Second Generation											
Name and form of Introduction	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Quentin Quinn B											
Darlene Quinn B											
Dora Arbuckle B											
Franklin Farthing B											
Gordon Gates CM											
Colin Constable B											
Cissy Constable B											

Chart 11












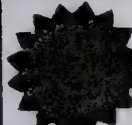







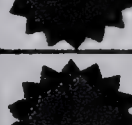






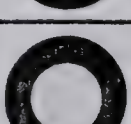














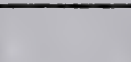











Second Generation											
Name and form of Introduction	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Elsie Hancock B											
Carey Constable B											
Connie Norris B											
Betty Constable B											
Colleen Constable B											
Ulrich Usherwood CA											
Dana Usherwood Vance B											

Chart 12












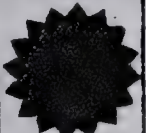
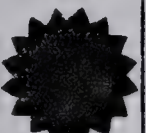





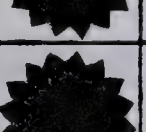




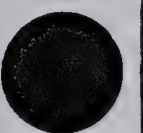








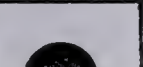







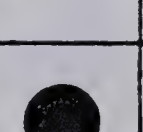


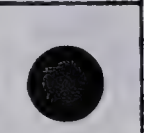




Second Generation											
Name and form of Introduction	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Candy Constable B											
Harold Handcock CM											
Casper Constable B											
Brian Balfour B											
Brenda Balfour B											

Chart 13







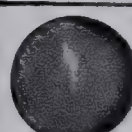





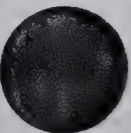
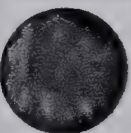
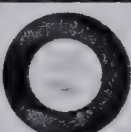









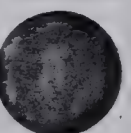
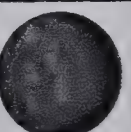


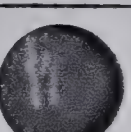
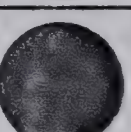




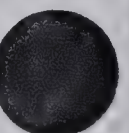
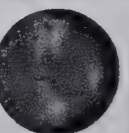

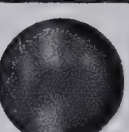

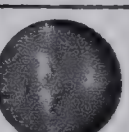
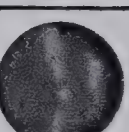
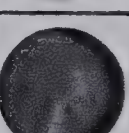

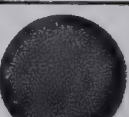

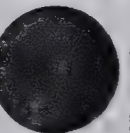





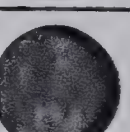






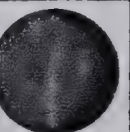





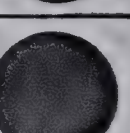





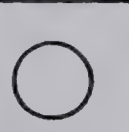
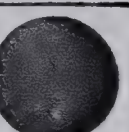





Third Generation											
Name and form of Introduction	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Gwendolyn Gates B											
Gabrielle Gates B											
Georgina Gates B											
Quartoni Quinn B											
Querida Quinn B											
Eleanor Emerson B											
Emery Emerson B											

Chart 14

Third Generation										
Name and form of Introduction	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979 1980
Geraldine Gates B										
Guinevere Gates B										
Hilary Handcock B										
Harriet Handcock B										
Quiritus Quinn B										
Darian Darset B										
Dabina Darset B										

Chart 15

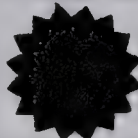




















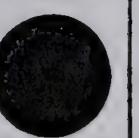










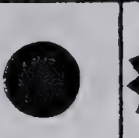
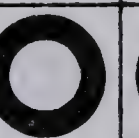

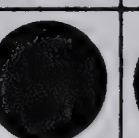




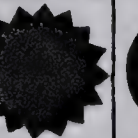
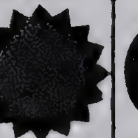








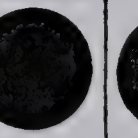

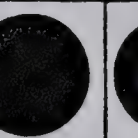

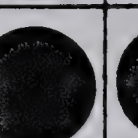




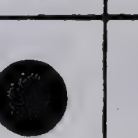










Converts										
Name, Sex and Introduction	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979 1980
Dave D. Convert 1 M CA										
Dave D. Convert 2 F CA										
Kate A. Convert 1 F CA										
Kate A. Convert 2 M CM										
Carl C. Convert 1 M CA										
Carl C. Convert 2 F CA										
Carl C. Convert 3 F CC										

Chart 16



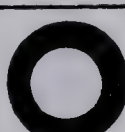






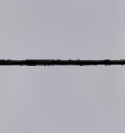
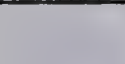








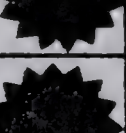

























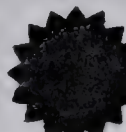











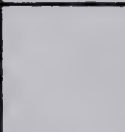

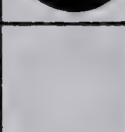

















Converts											
Name, Sex and Introduction	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Carl C. Convert 4 F CC											
Gordon G. Convert 1 M CA											
Gordon G. Convert 2 F CM											
Pat D. Convert 1 F CA											
Pat D. Convert 2 F CA											
Kate A. Convert 3 M CC											
Donna G. Convert 1 M CA											

Chart 17















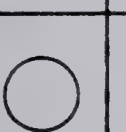

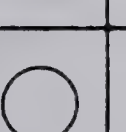




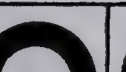
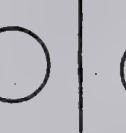



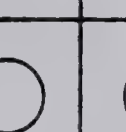
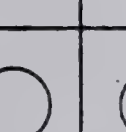
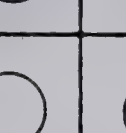
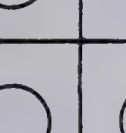








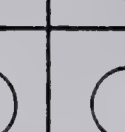
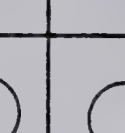
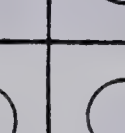





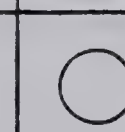















Converts											
Name, Sex and Introduction	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Donna G. Convert 2 F CA											
Donna G. Convert 3 F CC											
Donna G. Convert 4 M CC											
Donna G. Convert 5 F CC											
Donna G. Convert 6 F											
Cissy C. Convert 1 F CA											
Cissy C. Convert 2 F CA											

Chart 18

Converts											
Name, Sex and Introduction	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Cissy C. M Convert 3 CC				○	○	○	○	⊙	●	●	●
Pat D. M Convert 3 CA							○	⊙	●	●	●
Pat D. F Convert 4 CA							○	●	⊙	●	●
Pat D. M Convert 5 CC							○	●	●	●	●
Pat D. M Convert 6 CC							○	●	●	●	●
Quentin Q. M Convert 1 CA										●	⊙
Quentin Q. F Convert 2 CA										○	●

Chart 19

TABLE 6

GROWTH AND ATTRITION WITHIN THE MICROSOCIETY							
Year	Actual Increase	# of Pub.	# of New Pub.	# Baptized	# Died	# Quit	Actual Loss
1920	2	2	2	1			
1925	0	2	0	1			
1930	1	3	1	1			
1935	1	4	1	1			
1940	5	9	5	4			
1945	0	9	1	1		1	1
1950	8	17	9	5	1		1
1955	6	23	7	8		1	1
1960	8	31	9	10		1	1
1965	4	35	6	7		2	2
1970	7	42	10	9		3	3
1975	11	53	12	10	1		1
1980	5	58	16	14	1	10	11
TOTALS	58	58	79	72	3	18	21

Gen.	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
I. Wynne Z.	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
Zoe E.
Ed E.
Dave D.
Oll D.
Pat D.
Don D.
Rose D.
Lee. C.
Carl C.
Jane B.
Kate A.
Bart B.
Ian I.
II. Avis E.
Arthur A.
Alice F.
Darren D.
Sally D.
Donna G.
Edgar E.
Quentin Q.
Darlene Q.
Dora A.
Franklin F.
Gordon G.
Colin C.
Cissy C.
Elsie H.
Carey C.
Connie N.
Betty C.
Ulrich U.
Dana V.
Candy C.
Harold H.
Casper C.
Bonny B.
Brenda B.
Colleen C.
Victor V.
III. Gwendolyn G.
Gabrielle G.
Georgina G.
Quartoni Q.
Querida Q.
Eleanor E.
Emery E.
Geraldine G.
Guinevere G.
Hilary H.
Harriet H.
Quiritus Q.
Darian D.
Dabina D.

TABLE 7

ACTIVE PUBLISHERS
1919 - 1981
(Core Families Only)

The data presented in this and the preceding chapter constitute the micro-ethnographic material of this dissertation. While the following analysis of the power dynamic of the Witness movement will not be restricted to details of this particular group, aspects of individual lives of members have been described at some length to facilitate an analysis of the relationship between symbolic structure and social action. This approach has been necessary to elucidate the fact that symbols do not take root in "groups" of individuals without first speaking to each person, who must accept or reject the content of the symbol as valid or invalid. This aspect of commitment to a belief system becomes critical when undertaking the analysis of a "separatist" group within a broader, "multiple-choice" society where the possibility of an alternative system of beliefs will become available to each individual. Once the individual accepts the basic symbolic premises of a given system, then and only then may the symbols be presented and manipulated by the group's leaders, welding "like-minded" individuals into a unified group prepared to carry out the requisite action aimed at the realization of shared goals. The "group" thus comes to function according to a series of "rules";

yet as demonstrated in the foregoing data each individual remains potentially an exception to those rules. As William Barrett noted, "I myself *am* an exception; that is, a concrete being whose existence can never be completely subsumed under any universal or even system of universals" (Barrett 1962: 167).

Any analysis of the type of phenomenon evidenced by the micro-society must necessarily focus on several major questions as to how and why individuals adopted Jehovah's Witnesses as their religion or belief system, and how and why certain of those individuals eventually abandoned their "thematic universe" either for an alternative system or for total religious inactivity. By simply scanning Table 7 on page 159, it becomes apparent that the movement depends upon both natural growth and active proselytization for increase in membership. Particularly among those "born in" is there a tendency to reject the belief system; therefore, it is important to look at the conversion process, the indoctrination process of those "born in 'the Truth'," and the process of attrition, which is a much more important factor in this particular movement that initially meets the eye.

One of the key factors in the adherence to or attrition from the Society is the symbolic structure -- that corpus of beliefs, concepts and values which interacts with the cognitive and emotional "heart" of each individual and which in essence created and interprets his world for him and provides the strategies necessary for survival within that world. A major factor in the process of conversion is often the appeal of reunion with deceased "loved ones" in a paradise on earth. Even for those who do look forward to joining a particular individual, the promise of everlasting life without pain or illness is sufficient motivation. Still, for others, the failure of "worldly governments" to secure international peace and national prosperity has led to despair of any material solution to world problems. The conviction of the Witnesses that God himself is about to intervene in the world's destiny in a personal way attracts many of these individuals. For example, many converts in the United States during the early 1970's had personal histories of involvement with the social protest movements of the 1960's. Disappointed with their own inability to alter the progress of national affairs, they eventually accepted the Witnesses' view of God as the only agency for

social reformation (*The Watchtower* 15 February 1976 101-109). And finally, for some, conversion is an act aimed at achieving family solidarity in a system in which religious differences between spouses is a source of constant tension.

Among those "born into" the Organization, the critical factor in retention or disaffection is often, though not always, the home environment. Where parents are authoritarian, as in the case of the Constable family, children are more prone to rebel against both parent and Society as a unit when they reach their teenage years. Still, the strict home environment of the Constable family produced some committed children as well. In this case, the dynamics of personality factors cannot be denied. Where parents are loving and forgiving, the absence of domestic dissonance appears to transfer into the religious sphere with much higher membership retention among second and third generation Witnesses. Such was the case of the Gates family in which all five children, raised in a caring, warm family environment, show no signs of rebelling against either parent or Society. The disciplinary and educational processes will be examined in detail in following chapters.

The microsociey gives little indication of the disturbances currently affecting the Witness movement. As a relatively conservative congregation of Witnesses they allow for a contrast between the type of defection the Organization has experienced for years, and that which now is becoming endemic throughout North America, Great Britain, Scandinavia and continental Europe. No longer is defection a personal and private affair as in the case of those defectors discussed in this study -- defection which most often led the individual beyond the parameters of Christianity altogether into a secular lifestyle. At present *groups* of Witnesses are splitting off and seeking alternative Christian perspectives. Particularly throughout North America, the dissidents are either joining liberal Christian Fellowships already in existence or forming their own. The disaffected individuals of the microsociey, by virtue of the fact that their abandonment of the symbolic system occurred in the more distant past, have been informative in explaining certain fundamental processes necessary in the rejection of a secure "thematic universe" and the recreation of an alternative one. It will also be discovered in ensuing chapters that the dissonance experienced by the individual defectors is similar to

that which has now become diffused throughout the Organization as a whole. As the apparent contradictions within the Organization are being expressed by larger and larger numbers of Witnesses, there appears to be a desire for individuals to "alter" rather than "abandon" the movement. The leadership has been responding by tightening discipline and the schism consequently continues to deepen.

One is still left with the persistence and growth of a movement which has provided a secure "thematic universe" for millions of individuals over the decades. To understand the power and vitality of the movement it will be necessary to investigate how the key symbols behind the belief system have been presented or "managed" by the leadership of the Organization -- an investigation that will automatically draw us into the arena of challenges to both doctrine and authority. In the contemporary situation it will be noted that no longer is defection restricted primarily to the ranks of the young-adult "born in"; but now, the brunt of the challenge comes from the ranks of the long-term committed, including members of the Governing Body itself. This process will also emerge in the following consideration as one which has been developing for nearly two decades, not merely since the prophetic failure of 1975.

CHAPTER THREE

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES MOVEMENT

I

The Etic and Emic: Two Types of History

Before one can discuss the relationship of power between a symbolic system and its adherents, it is necessary to outline the basic ideational contents to which prospective and committed members must respond. To uncover the evolution of such a system it is necessary to review the organization's history, which consists of two disparate aspects: the etic or secular history that is the objective record of the culture's development within the context and milieu of the external world, and the emic or subjective history consisting of the premises and assumptions -- religious, political, social or otherwise -- upon which the culture was initially founded and around which it has continued to develop, and which is accepted as the *true* history of the group *by* the group no matter how it varies from the objective record.

The analysis to be undertaken in this dissertation is not the "demythification" of the Witnesses' secular or etic history; several writers, notably Timothy White

and Alan Rogerson, have accomplished this in their well-researched and insightful books. The purpose of this dissertation is not to separate the mythical from the "factual," but rather to examine the manner in which the mythical has interacted with the factual -- in particular with the progress of world events outside the Witnesses' own group. I maintain that this is a valid approach, since it expresses exactly the attitude of the Witnesses themselves towards history. *Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose* functioned for the Witnesses as a "history text" intended to "explain" the turbulent years experienced under the early presidents; it described the Organization's "progress" in a stilted and at times misleading manner. For example, the Witnesses' treatment of the Rutherford administration (1916-1942) portrays Rutherford as an extremely forthright individual whose only interests were the furthering of Jehovah's work; yet both Rogerson and White (to name two sources) have documented several examples of political subterfuge beginning with Rutherford's election itself (Rogerson 1969: 32-75; and White 1968: 147-154, 262-330).

When *Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose* was released in 1959, Witnesses were encouraged to read

and study it; in fact, the book was covered paragraph by paragraph during the weekly "Ministry School Meeting." A request was made at the same time for Witnesses in possession of books from the Russell and Rutherford administrations to turn them in to their local congregations. The rationale for this move was ostensibly to furnish each new Kingdom Hall with one copy of these relatively rare early works. However, it has been my experience in congregations across Canada that such books were never read and have now disappeared altogether. Even comparatively recent publications are kept in locked, glass-faced cabinets in most Kingdom Halls. While the "outdated" books were first being collected for Kingdom Hall libraries, strong admonition was given from the Society's headquarters to discourage actual use of them. It was argued that there had been such an "outpouring of new light" in recent years that one needed to address oneself exclusively to the new material in order to "keep up." Given the number of magazines, hard-cover books, pamphlets and booklets published each year, even the most studious individuals were unlikely to have the time or the inclination to resurrect doctrinal inconsistencies or periodic shifts in prophetic vision -- or to turn to the Bible itself as a source of "Truth." And

such was the case until recent years when a deliberate return to the earlier works has played a significant role in the growing rift within the Organization.

The history of the Witnesses consists of four distinct phases paralleling the tenure of the four presidents who have controlled the Organization from its inception in 1874 to the present (See Figure 16 on page 170). The Russell period is of particular concern to an understanding of the entire evolution of the Organization and the contemporary criticism of it on the part of modern dissidents. Russell's theology and attitudes towards "organization" surprise, at times "shock," those Witnesses who seek their roots by reviewing Witness publications over the last century (Tape 1981: Watters and Sullivan).

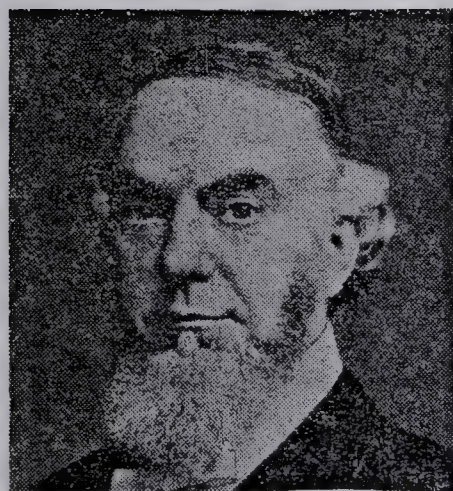
Russell, born on February 16, 1852, was raised in a strict Presbyterian home by a mother who was determined to see her son become a minister:

"Charles, I want you to know that I gave you to the Lord as Samuel's mother gave him. It is my hope and prayer that in God's providence you may become minister of the Gospel"
(White 1968: 14).

From an early age Russell shared his mother's dream. What he could not share was the "predestination" doctrine of his native religion which offered eternal torment as

FIGURE 16

THE FOUR PRESIDENTS
OF
THE WATCH TOWER BIBLE AND TRACT SOCIETY



Charles T. Russell

1874-1916



Joseph F. Rutherford

1916-1942



Nathan H. Knorr

1942-1977



Frederick W. Franz

1977-Present

(*The Watchtower*, 15 October,
1977, 633).

the prerogative of God. The Calvinist proposition that salvation was an "elective" of God, determined before birth, was repugnant to Russell. He could not justify biblical descriptions of the love, justice, wisdom and power of God with the rapt, *ad hoc* randomness attributed to God by the Presbyterians (Rogerson 1969: 5). A brief fling with the Congregational Church did not satisfy Russell's quest. At the age of 17 he became involved in a discussion of his own doubts with an "infidel," and found himself unable to pursue the search for meaning within the confines of established Christianity. According to White,

He spent his spare time in the next few years studying the claimed divine revelations of Oriental religions. He rejected each in turn as unsatisfactory. He became torn between agnosticism, skepticism, and the conflicting claims of all the religions he had studied. To a devout youth like Charles, reared to reverence and feel close to God, [sic] this experience can be most disturbing. He longed for his former spiritual peace of mind, but was unable to find anything that satisfied his intellect. Russell's ideals were gentleness and love of fellow man, and he could not respect a God who was any the less (White 1968: 14-16).

In 1870 he attended a public address by Second Adventist speaker, Jonas Wendell, and this proved to be a major turning point in his private life with implications for the numbers who would join him, first

in his private studies, and later in the development of a major sectarian movement which he could not foresee, and of which he would not have approved had such foresight been granted him (Rogerson 1969: 6).

He began to engage in the delineation of Bible chronology, a popular topic among the growing Millenarian movements of his time, an exercise critical to his desire to "sort out" the contradictions of the Bible. He initiated and sustained a lengthy examination of the prophecies of William Miller, who had predicted the return of Christ for 1944. Russell was convinced that Miller had erred only in the calculation of the dates, and from this contact came Russell's life-long interest in the computation of historical dates as set out in the Bible with particular reference as to how prophecies could be construed to refer to current events. In 1875 Russell made a trip to Philadelphia and during his stay read a copy of a magazine, *Herald of the Morning*, in which the editor, N. H. Barbour, declared that Christ had returned invisibly in the preceding year. Russell began a lengthy correspondence with Barbour which eventually developed into a partnership, with Russell contributing heavily to both the content and the finances of several published

documents, not least of which was *The Plan of the Ages* in which Russell, the sole author, published his "history of the world" with reference to both current events and "apparent contradictions" within the Bible.

Within the pages of *The Plan of the Ages*, Russell dealt with the entire "history" of mankind from 6,000 years in the past to 1,000 years in the future. The apparent contradiction in the Bible simply referred to God's treatment of his wilful creation during each of those periods. Once the various attributes, threats of punishment and promises of God were appropriately "pigeon-holed" within the parameters of one of five ages, all contradictions would be resolved. The first age covered the period from the fall of Adam to the time of Noah. During this period, Russell had speculated, God left man in the care of the angels who ran afoul of the divine scheme of things by "mixing" with man to produce the "nephilim." God expressed his displeasure with the situation by producing the Flood, which only eight human beings survived: Noah, his sons, and their wives. In the second epoch, the "Age of the Patriarchs," which began immediately after the flood and lasted until the death of Jacob, God dealt directly with specific individuals. The third phase was the "Jewish Age" in which God

expanded his sphere of concern from that of the individual to that of the "nation" -- Israel. This period did not end until Jesus expired on Nisan 14, A.D. 33. The "Gospel Age" which Christ's death ushered in was described by Timothy White as follows:

During [this] period God ceased to favor the Jewish nation, and favored instead the church -- individuals who were begotten of his spirit, and who were adopted into his family as sons. No longer was fleshly birth of value, only spiritual birth. No longer was a mediator or covenant required, Russell taught after 1919, for the relationship was close and intimate (White 1968: 67).

The Gospel Age would end in 1914 (later 1918) as the "Millennial Age" dawned in which "God was to work with the whole human race apart from the church"(67).

The vision of the ushering in of this last great phase, during which man (according to his own choice, based on an acceptance of the ransom of Christ) could attain to perfection, was tempered by the intellectual milieu of the world in which Russell lived. He correlated apocalyptic visions of transformation in the Bible with the groundswell of revolution fomenting in the Western world during the late 19th and early 20th centuries:

Like the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars he felt that these events were leading up to the end of the kingdoms of the world which he expected in 1914. Because the

French Revolution figured so prominently in the parallels and in his interpretation of Revelation, he felt that the end of the world would come in a manner similar to this. Russell was living in a time of the rising worker class when the vital force in the world was class warfare (White 1968: 82).

Events closer to home took on an ominous significance: in 1886 seven policemen lost their lives in Chicago during the Haymarket riot; and in 1892 eighteen persons were shot and killed during the labour strike against the Homestead, Pennsylvania, steel mills (82). The world did indeed seem to be on the brink of a "new age."

Russell's exegeses and predictions had by this time spread well beyond the limitations of one book. *The Plan of the Ages* had become Volume 1 of *The Millennium Dawns* or *Studies in the Scriptures* followed by Volumes two through six, the sixth being published in 1904. In Volume 4, *The Battle of Armageddon*, Russell turned his full attention upon the contemporary social situation. For him, the period, beginning in 1799, was one of

increasing practical knowledge, a time when man was beginning to tap the energies available -- steam, gasoline and electricity. Many labor-saving inventions were being made which were replacing the worker and causing unemployment. This increase of knowledge, he felt, was Christ's work (White 1968: 83).

The revolution Russell saw developing out of the social morass would bring the legions of the workers into the ranks of the divine as weapons for Christ's use in the necessary overthrow of existing governments if Christ's own kingdom was to be established (White 1968: 83).

The divine scheme was progressing: in 1873 the American government had demonetized silver, and as a result, by 1894 the price of wheat had dropped from \$1.54 to 61¢ per bushel, in accordance with the prophecy of James which had warned:

"Behold, the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord." God was listening to their cries and would recompense them (*Zion's Watchtower and Herald of Christ's Presence* 1 November 1901: 350).

Russell believed that the world was fast approaching a time when the labour movements and anarchists would destroy aristocracies and world governments to establish socialistic governments of their own which would quickly dissolve into total anarchy. Then the fires of *Isaiah* and the winds of *Jeremiah*, the ultimate weapons of Christ, would bring about the final destruction of all forms of human order: total anarchy would overtake the world (*The Watch Tower and Herald of Christ's Presence* 1 June 1914: 166, 167).

Once the earth had been made safe from organized religion, commerce, banking systems, mercantilism, capitalism, industrial organizations, political institutions, and "society" in general, the way would be open for God to take over (*The Watch Tower and Herald of Christ's Presence* 1 March 1916: 71, 72). However, God would not be starting entirely from scratch. Russell firmly believed that the natural Jews would be returned to their homeland in Palestine; he had even encouraged this in a secular way by writing to the Barons Rothschild and Hirsh urging them to make property acquisitions in the Holy Land, and shortly after this Rothschild did purchase land in Palestine (White 1968: 51, 52). The Jews living in this one protected area would then be converted to Christianity, and from Palestine, the Christianization and perfection of the human race would begin:

Thereafter he would make with them [the Jews] the New Covenant, bringing the sincere and devoted among them to human perfection. They would live throughout the thousand years and evermore without dying or even becoming ill. The Gentiles or non-Jews, later on in the Millennium would become Jews and come under this covenant. If they made progress in developing a righteous character they too would be blessed with life (White 1968: 68).

The "new age" or "new world" for Russell would be one of universal salvation for mankind as a whole.

Universal salvation through grace and the perfection of man would require a universal church. That select group of 144,000 described in chapter twenty of *Revelation* as arrayed in white garments and standing before the throne of God would constitute the "church" of the Millennial Age, chosen from among the most spiritual Christians of the Gospel Age. The church of the dawning age would have no earthly existence. Russell was fully aware of the potential for his own loosely knit "ecclesias" to take on the form of a church over time if he were not careful to prevent such an undesirable turn of events. It was critical to him that his followers not be counted among all the other religions he envisioned going down at Armageddon. The corporation which was demanded by law for the production of the Watch Tower publications *had* to remain separate from the governance of the church, as stipulated in his Last Will and Testament. (See Appendix B). The legal corporation was to continue publishing *The Watch Tower*, and only *The Watch Tower*, under the auspices of an editorial committee of five. The legal publishing firm was in no way to be confused with the religious body, as Russell said: "We belong to NO earthly organization . . . "(White 1968: 120).

On October 31st, 1916, Charles Taze Russell died. The legal publishing company and the religious ecclesias came under the "presidency" of Joseph (the "Judge") Rutherford, the group's legal advisor. The two years following the election of Rutherford to the presidency were riddled by power struggles and rifts within the group, events which Timothy White has carefully reconstructed in his book *A People for His Name*. Rutherford did, however, manage to maintain control of the bulk of the followers and all the properties of the Organization. When the scramble was over, he set his mind to a reorganization of the group, creating an efficient and expansionist corporation funded by the proceeds from the supplementary journal *The Golden Age* (presently called *Awake!*) (White 1968: 173). A streamlined Organization was developed to co-ordinate increased preaching activities which Rutherford anticipated when he announced that due to an embarrassment of riches in growing membership, there must be a secondary class established to take the overflow from heaven. Many of those who felt themselves cheated out of heaven by this move left shortly after it was made public in 1922. To make the lowly position of the secondary class more appealing, Rutherford

declared that they would inherit the earth -- that the "great crowd of other sheep" who exceeded the limitations of heaven would survive Armageddon, and *only* they (TFMG 1969: 169). At the time of Russell's death in 1916, he still firmly expected the earthly battle of Armageddon momentarily. It was left to Rutherford to rework biblical chronologies and set 1914 (not 1874) as the time for the second return of Christ and hence to push Armageddon further into the future. The universal vision of Russell became the exclusive goal of the chosen few who God would spare and Armageddon retreated -- a distant light at the end of this new, exclusive pathway to salvation.

While Rutherford does warrant credit for bringing political peace to the Organization, he was never able to muster the personal popularity of the charismatic Russell. When Rutherford died in 1942 he was quickly and quietly replaced by his former right-hand-man -- the more efficient but even less charismatic Nathan Knorr. The most outstanding feature of Knorr's tenure was the complete transfer from individual to corporate leadership (White 1969: 337, 353). None of the "Society's" publications since 1942 indicate authorship -- a reflection of the Society's insistence that all

inspiration comes directly from God through "the Organization" led by a "Governing Body" of faceless shareholders.

During his tenure as president, N. H. Knorr was more concerned with international promotion of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society than with doctrine. F. W. Franz, while still vice-president of the Organization, explained the process the Society used in approving articles for publication:

The President is the mouthpiece. He pronounces the speeches that show advancement of the understanding of the Scriptures They go through the editorial committee, and I give my O.K. after Scriptural examination. Then I pass them on to President Knorr, and President Knorr has the final O.K. (Transcript: 100).

Later on, he elaborated,

The editorial committee does the research work, and then it comes finally under the review of the President of the Society, the Chairman of the Board of Directors. He issues the final approval and sends it to press There is no voting upon it. If it is published it is accepted There is no difference of view in the Board of Directors After the matter is published there is agreement . . . I said that the research work is done by the Editorial Committee. Articles are submitted and they go through a regular procedure of being reviewed and approved, signatures attached, and finally reach the President, and he, if he approves, sends it to press I am a member of the Board of Directors as well as a member of the Editorial Committee, and so I give my signature to an

article of which I approve, and I do so as a member of the Editorial Committee primarily, and also as a member of the Board of Directors. President Knorr does the same thing (Transcript: 106-108).

Franz himself has long been recognized as the Witnesses' "top ideologue" (Ostling 1982: 40), and according to most authorities from the "inside" Knorr's rubber-stamping and signature was in most cases a mere formality; he tended not to involve himself deeply in the actual writing and research but concerned himself instead with promotion and production. Especially was this so after 1961, when Franz, having finished his all-consuming work as chairman of the New World Bible Translation Committee, became free to examine doctrinal concerns. Franz is generally credited as being the author of *Life Everlasting in Freedom of the Sons of God*, in which 1975 is posited as being a likely target date for the New World.

That there was a sharp contrast between these two leaders was acknowledged in the October 15th, 1966 issue of *The Watchtower*, in which the final remarks of Franz and Knorr made at the God's Sons of Liberty series of assemblies were summarized:

Especially enjoyable were the extemporaneous remarks of the president of the Society at the many assemblies where he was able to be personally present 'Never slack the hand,' he pleaded. 'Be on guard against internal dissension, materialism and persecution!'

He told of increasing opposition to the Kingdom work in various lands But he also had some encouraging figures. While in some of the larger countries there was little increase in numbers of Kingdom preachers this past April, still others have done very well: France saw a 12-percent increase; Italy, 15 percent; Brazil, 21 percent; Chile, 22 percent; the Dominican Republic, 40-percent increase (630).

All Knorr was interested in during his speeches, which averaged more than an hour in length, was figures and numerical "progress." Franz, who spoke at assemblies when Knorr could not be present, took a very different tack:

At the Baltimore assembly Brother Franz in his closing remarks made some interesting comments regarding the year 1975

'What about the year 1975? What is it going to mean, dear friends?' asked Brother Franz. 'Does it mean that Armageddon is going to be finished, with Satan bound, by 1975? It could! It could! . . . But we are not saying. All things are possible with God. But we are not saying. And don't any of you be specific in saying anything that is going to happen between now and 1975. But the big point of it all is this, dear friends: Time is short. Time is running out, no question about that' (631).

Franz' hour-long justification of the 1975 chronology reinforced speculation as to the date's importance, and led to controlled internal dissent -- dissent which did not come fully to light until 1977 when Karl Klein, a member of the Governing Body, discussed the matter at a Convention News Service Department meeting in

Vancouver, B.C., for more than an hour. According to James Penton,

Some members of the Governing Body admitted in private conversations that they had begged Nathan Knorr and Frederick Franz not to be so dogmatic about 1975 and were irritated that Franz, especially, had made so much of it in public discourses. At the time Knorr was a very sick man whose mind was seriously affected by terminal brain cancer and could make little response (Penton [unpublished]: 2 [1]).

Leo Greenlees, another member of the Governing Body, was also critical of the predictions of Franz and Knorr (Penton [unpublished]: 2 [1] fn. 9).

In November 1974, the Governing Body of Jehovah's Witnesses was enlarged from ten to eighteen. Up to that time, members of the Governing Body, besides the two leaders, were Grant Suitor (the Secretary); Raymond V. Franz (Frederick's nephew, who had distinguished himself as principal author of the 1700-page *Aid to Bible Understanding* in 1969); George D. Gangas; Leo K. Greenlees; John O. Groh; Milton G. Henschel; William K. Jackson; and Lyman A. Swingle. Besides Karl Klein (who had worked in the office of the Brooklyn Bethel for years prior to his appointment, and accepted his place on the Governing Body despite his professed basic disagreement with the release of predictions concerning 1975), the new members

included W. Lloyd Barry, John C. Booth, Ewart C. Chitty, Charles J. Fekel, Theodore Jaracz, Albert D. Schroeder, and Daniel Sydlik -- all white, all male, and all claiming to be members of the remnant of the 144,000 anointed (*The Watchtower* 15 January 1975: 60).

Knorr died on June 7, 1977, and Frederick Franz took over the mantle of office two weeks later. Already he had attempted to soften the blow of the failure of his prophecy in another series of conventions held in 1975, reinforced by *Watchtower* articles of October 1st, 1975, by suggesting that the "seventh day" had not started until after the creation of Eve rather than of Adam (579-584). Following his accession, the Society closed ranks:

Throughout the Witness community circuit and district overseers -- frequently the very men who had placed the greatest stress on 1975 as a year of prophetic significance -- now suddenly often acted as though the fault for expecting the end in that year had lain with ordinary Jehovah's Witnesses. They held that the Society had never said *definitely* that something would happen then, a fact which was quite true. But they completely ignored the additional fact that Knorr, Franz and Watch Tower literature had implied over and over again that that year would see the end of the present dispensation of human history. Sneeringly, some circuit overseers and elders stated that they 'couldn't understand why some people were so upset over the fact that Adam had had a birthday.' Stangely, many Witnesses, particularly those in responsible positions, seemed to suffer from some sort of collective amnesia

which caused them to act as though the year 1975 had never held any particular importance to them at all (Penton [unpublished]: 4).

Subsequent to 1977, Brooklyn tightened the reins of control and started a purge of "heretics" and others who did not measure up to the new, rigid standards, or failed to show absolute faith in the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society as the "voice of God" -- a purge which reached fever pitch in 1978, when close to 30,000 Witnesses were disfellowshipped (*Yearbook* 1979: 31). As the spread of "heresy" continued, the Governing Body began looking inside its Brooklyn offices and found ample evidence that disaffection was growing inside the headquarters itself. On April 28, 1980, the Chairman's Committee sent a memorandum to the members of the Governing Body, listing "Wrong Teachings Being Spread About." The memorandum began:

Following are some of the wrong teachings being spread as emanating from Bethel. These have been brought to the attention of the Governing Body from the field from April 14 onward

In a pamphlet entitled *What Happened At The World Headquarters of Jehovah's Witnesses in the Spring of 1980?*, Randall Watters, who had served in Brooklyn headquarters for six years until he voluntarily left in July 1980, revealed that "great disturbances had been in the works for years":

In the spring of 1980 three prominent members of the Writing Department of the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society in Brooklyn, N.Y., suddenly became subject to intense interrogation. These men were responsible for writing most of their recent books. One was subsequently thrown out of the organization. Another, a member of the Governing Body of Jehovah's Witnesses, was stripped of his privileges, and the third was later encouraged to leave (Watters 1981: 1).

Under the subheading "Intimidation Tactics," he added:

While one member of the Governing Body was away on leave of absence, a special committee was established to extract confessions of all of his close friends and acquaintances, in order to determine everything he had ever said in private that could be used against him. For two weeks these committees intimidated members of the Bethel family and recorded their confessions. Then the unfortunate fellow was suddenly called back to Bethel and made to listen to these tapes in the presence of the Governing Body. Then he was cast out and stripped of his privileges (4).

This member of the Governing Body was none other than the President's nephew, Raymond V. Franz, and his "grilling" on May 21, 1980 remained a well-kept secret for nearly a year. *Time* magazine reported:

Opponents [on the Governing Body] were unable to get a two-thirds majority for his disfellowshipping on the spot, but he was forced to resign from Bethel. In all, about a dozen officials were purged, almost certainly the worst doctrinal crisis Watch Tower headquarters has ever faced (Ostling 1982: 40).

Subsequently, on September 15, 1981, *The Watchtower* made plain a tightening of the rules with respect to such

"self-condemned" individuals: "Persons who make themselves 'not of our sort' by deliberately rejecting the faiths and beliefs of Jehovah's Witnesses should appropriately be viewed and treated as those who are disfellowshipped for wrongdoing"(23). As if anticipating the actions of Raymond Franz, *The Watchtower* article, "Disfellowshipping -- How to View It" reiterated Paul's words "quit mixing in company . . . not even eating with such a man":

A meal is a time of relaxation and socializing. Hence the Bible here rules out social fellowship, too, such as joining an expelled person in a picnic or party, ball game, trip to the beach or theater, or sitting down to a meal with him (24).

A footnote immediately following this "admonition" specified that "much clearer separation should exist in the cases of disfellowshipped or disassociated wrongdoers." Specifically mentioning problems "that arise in connection with business or employment," the article continued:

What if you were employed by a man who was now expelled by the congregation, or you employed a person to whom that happened? What then? If you were contractually or financially obligated to continue the business relationship for the present, you certainly would now have a different attitude toward the disfellowshipped individual. Discussion of business matters with him or contact on the job might be necessary, but spiritual discussions and social fellowship would be things of the past (24).

This shift from convention to "Law" was just the impetus needed for a local congregation to accomplish what Brooklyn had failed to achieve. On December 31, 1981, Raymond was excommunicated "for having lunch with his boss, an Alabama grocery chain owner named Peter Gregerson" (Sheppard 1982: 41). Although the Governing Body could not agree on his disfellowshipping, its actions against Franz were sufficiently virulent to incur the indignation of Gregerson, a long-time friend of Franz who, subsequent to Franz' demotion, had offered him a job and accommodation. In 1981, Gregerson was pressured by his congregation into declaring his doubts, and he was proclaimed "disassociated."

When Franz was seen in a restaurant eating a meal with his benefactor Gregerson, he was finally disfellowshipped by the Gadsden [Alabama] leaders. 'By one stroke they eliminated all my years of service,' says Franz. 'I frankly do not believe there is another organization more insistent on 100% conformity' (Ostling 1982: 41).

His disfellowshipping was only one in wave after wave of organizational purges which continue to this day.

In spite of internal dissension which permeates the Governing Body itself, the Witnesses' Organization continues to grow. Statistics for each year are compiled in time for release at the end of that year. Hence, the growing disaffection has not yet entered

the official record. For example, during September 1981, there was an 8% decrease in the number of active Witnesses in the United States -- a decrease which will not enter the official figures until the release of annual statistics at the end of 1982. In essence, in the month of September, 1981, 47,318 fewer Witnesses were recorded for the United States of America (Penton [unpublished]: 54). As indicated in their international Figures for last year, the United States experienced an increase of 4% even though it has been estimated that 145,000 members left the movement. Proselytization has thus far prevented an actual decrease in numbers (Penton [unpublished]: 54). The greatest growth is being experienced in third world countries in which the schism has to date had little or no effect, for example, Brunei (60% increase) and Equitorial New Guinea (57% increase). Under these circumstances, the possibility of an American-based third world church emerging cannot be dismissed.

The "success" of the Organization is clearly measured in terms of numerical increase. In expanding the sphere of the Witnesses, the most critical aspect remains house-to-house prosyletizing of individual members: one *must* engage in preaching activity to bear the name "Jehovah's Witnesses"; otherwise one is not really

"witnessing." In order to facilitate their efforts, the Organization has increased its publication capacity to a current rate which provides over half a billion magazines per annum in 106 languages: preaching is conducted in "more than 190 languages" (*The Watchtower* 1 March 1979: 17). In addition to these magazines, the Organization prints its own Bibles and hard-cover books. In *Jehovah's Witnesses in the Twentieth Century*, published in 1978, the following description of the printing facilities was offered:

. . . From 1927 much more literature began to be turned out in the eight-story factory building in Brooklyn, New York, owned by the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York, Inc. This has now expanded into a complex of six buildings, and there are other buildings nearby in Brooklyn to house the 1,800 workers needed to operate the publishing facilities. In addition to this a combination farm and factory housing 600 workers is operated near Wallkill in upstate New York. It handles printing of the "Watchtower" and "Awake!" magazines and produces food for all 2,400 voluntary workers; these receive a monthly allowance of \$20 each to cover incidental expenses (*JWTC* 1978: 9).

It was announced verbally at the time of the purchase of its newest complex that the Society had paid in cash. Until recently, the second largest printing facility was located in Toronto, Canada. This plant has now been moved to a new complex in neighbouring Georgetown.

Other smaller plants are located throughout 200 other countries. Illustrations of some of the corporate facilities are contained in Appendix C.

The Organization has also developed a sophisticated data processing system for the computation of its vital statistics. The detail involved in this critical aspect of the Organization is best illustrated in the reproduction of the most current annual figures as contained in Table 8 (pages 193 to 196). Table 9 on page 197 contains statistics for the years 1945 through 1980, illustrating the growth of the Organization as an international corporation. Statistics of this nature are indicative of the extent to which numbers themselves have become major symbols for the Witnesses of "Jehovah's blessing" upon his "earthly Organization" as the *only* channel through which one may learn the "truth" of the Bible and achieve life-everlasting in paradise.

TABLE 8

1981 SERVICE YEAR REPORT OF JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES WORLDWIDE

Country	Population	1981 Peak Pubs.	Ratio, One Pub-lisher to:	1981 Av. Pubs.	% Inc. over 1980	1980 Av. Pubs.	1981 No. Bptizd.	Av. Pto. Pubs.	No. of Congs.	Total Hours	Av. Bible Studies	Memorial Atten-dance
Alaska	424,338	1,290	329	1,248	6	1,182	74	105	23	202,826	728	3,282
Algeria	19,300,000	24	804,167	18	6	17			3	1,229	18	79
American Samoa	32,395	72	450	68	-4*	71	7	9	1	17,665	89	235
Andorra	35,460	95	373	85	13	75		2	1	8,871	33	193
Anguilla	6,524	15	435	13	18	11		1	1	2,697	5	29
Antigua	70,794	195	363	184	-1*	185	7	13	4	28,101	122	507
Argentina	27,862,771	38,869	717	37,039	6	34,862	1,195	1,654	592	5,090,263	31,475	78,601
Aruba	65,211	314	208	281	-1*	283	10	7	5	34,806	207	843
Ascension Island	1,151	3	384	2	New					31	3	
Australia	14,793,000	31,898	464	31,086	4	29,995	1,458	1,691	550	4,743,294	12,288	64,957
Austria	7,546,200	13,939	541	13,611	3	13,155	795	580	218	2,002,746	6,109	24,570
Azores	280,000	314	892	291	4	279	21	26	12	54,629	294	825
Bahamas	209,505	526	398	492	4	471	39	32	10	81,203	502	1,621
Bangladesh	86,640,000	6	9,628,667	6	13	8		3	1	3,599	28	21
Barbados	255,000	1,324	193	1,166	1	1,152	28	45	16	141,984	629	3,335
Belgium	9,798,374	18,990	516	18,133	3	17,664	796	776	285	2,668,129	6,458	37,753
Belize	145,000	628	231	597	11	540	44	47	15	113,599	558	2,272
Benin	3,380,000	1,447	2,336	1,073	3	1,044	1	15	66	107,893	570	3,519
Bermuda	57,400	246	233	223	4	214	16	20	4	42,241	176	639
Bolivia	5,000,000	2,662	1,878	2,554	4	2,459	268	350	68	669,774	2,973	11,448
Bonaire	9,818	46	213	37	12	33	6	3	1	8,347	38	114
Botswana	800,000	295	2,712	286	3	279	19	31	13	62,291	341	829
Brazil	122,040,000	120,920	1,009	114,200	6	107,727	9,315	5,297	2,150	15,270,980	78,883	343,930
British Isles	54,527,776	85,312	639	80,824	3	78,346	3,487	4,879	1,141	12,452,632	36,160	165,537
Brunei	170,000	18	9,444	8	60	5		2		1,768	14	58
Burma	31,170,000	1,091	28,570	1,066	7	1,000	73	191	65	337,836	900	3,164
Burundi	4,000,000	188	21,277	168	6	158	19	12	7	32,207	251	488
Cameroon	8,700,000	11,257	773	10,014	-1*	10,124	250	41	447	707,427	6,494	21,416
Canada	23,405,100	67,328	348	64,803	3	62,938	2,785	3,675	1,093	9,389,569	27,754	133,145
Cape Verde Rep.	300,000	121	2,479	115	14	101	27	19	6	40,997	250	510
Cayman Islands	15,600	37	422	33	22	27	4	2	1	4,210	28	95
Central Afr. Rep.	2,300,000	1,090	2,110	995	6	943	68	81	42	182,866	831	4,928
Chad	4,000,000	118	33,898	102	6	96	20	21	10	37,178	149	553
Chile	11,295,000	18,875	669	15,711	4	15,081	1,160	1,001	280	2,494,973	15,660	54,796
Colombia	27,600,000	16,800	1,643	16,099	7	15,111	1,193	1,104	280	2,848,982	17,754	66,035
Comoros	258,000	2	129,000	2		2				19		
Congo	1,600,000	861	1,858	767	-4*	798	11	11	36	56,853	465	2,356
Cook Islands	22,000	58	379	50	4	48	7	5	4	10,482	36	333
Costa Rica	2,276,676	6,183	368	5,663	8	5,268	373	288	118	855,552	4,953	17,625
Curaçao	162,362	823	197	804	6	761	54	64	10	162,577	1,021	2,522
Cyprus	500,000	1,042	480	1,004	3	974	46	41	12	125,163	372	1,759
Denmark	5,123,073	13,200	388	12,959		12,927	321	532	227	1,514,262	3,723	22,603
Djibouti	500,000	5	100,000	4	New				1	116	3	6

TABLE 8 (continued)

Dominica	70,302	198	355	176	5	168	13	16	7	35,039	132	693
Dominican Rep.	5,000,000	6,839	731	6,633	7	6,218	411	597	131	1,330,452	9,536	28,965
Ecuador	8,644,000	5,388	1,604	5,185	4	4,957	476	496	112	1,082,648	6,507	26,576
El Salvador	4,851,800	9,080	534	8,242	22	6,783	1,208	630	154	1,726,010	12,272	36,580
Equatorial Guinea	330,200	39	8,467	33	57	21	4	4	2	10,165	91	176
Faroe Islands	43,273	66	656	60	60	60	3	13	4	15,793	26	116
Fiji	624,360	731	854	687	6	651	54	95	24	159,341	714	2,915
Finland	4,787,769	13,585	352	13,297	1	13,103	547	975	252	1,994,303	5,382	22,375
France	53,900,000	70,485	765	68,430	2	66,879	3,688	2,498	1,193	9,846,566	33,594	142,483
French Guiana	65,600	252	260	238	-3*	246	15	13	3	45,154	332	790
Gabon	700,000	406	1,724	343	-7*	370	20	16	14	51,486	360	1,138
Gambia	600,955	14	42,925	13	8	12	4	4	1	6,124	29	50
Germany, F. R.	61,654,300	101,451	608	99,223	1	97,831	3,312	3,178	1,457	12,727,529	31,918	169,417
Ghana	11,086,188	23,085	480	21,591	2	21,123	1,312	1,762	468	4,187,827	27,449	76,296
Gibraltar	30,000	90	333	83	-2*	85	3	4	1	10,974	21	148
Greece	9,700,000	18,649	520	18,516	3	18,482	363	763	483	2,471,228	5,513	33,230
Greenland	50,643	84	603	78	3	76	5	5	7	11,784	45	139
Grenada	111,000	351	316	312	6	293	16	22	7	54,349	245	968
Guadeloupe	324,000	2,766	118	2,698	3	2,631	121	63	38	370,158	2,321	7,258
Guam	105,816	166	637	147	14	129	16	24	1	37,195	159	491
Guatemala	7,262,419	5,788	1,255	5,658	5	5,412	394	337	92	935,293	5,228	20,830
Guinea	5,143,284	184	27,953	157	-13*	181	155	42	12	68,363	271	635
Guinea-Bissau	530,000	7	75,714	4	33	3	1	2	1	2,663	30	21
Guyana	842,000	1,152	730	1,119	-4*	1,167	54	121	30	234,663	973	3,642
Haiti	6,000,000	3,105	1,932	3,007	3	3,018	152	194	73	545,594	3,486	20,725
Hawaii	973,000	4,554	214	4,474	2	4,400	145	583	60	982,001	3,930	12,820
Honduras	3,820,951	3,056	1,250	2,879	1	2,854	155	232	63	596,452	3,683	15,512
Hong Kong	5,000,000	900	5,556	880	6	833	67	197	13	321,285	1,326	1,978
Iceland	244,380	124	1,810	112	7	112	7	11	2	19,402	49	274
India	670,000,000	5,435	123,276	4,969	7	4,647	292	580	307	1,065,561	3,395	14,312
Ireland	4,907,217	1,995	2,460	1,915	4	1,835	107	294	73	534,610	889	3,964
Israel	5,120,000	260	19,692	246	6	232	21	16	5	43,562	128	525
Italy	56,700,000	90,553	626	87,854	8	81,589	6,219	6,892	1,364	17,158,629	56,397	187,165
Ivory Coast	6,670,000	1,473	4,528	1,396	7	1,308	86	91	45	251,021	1,520	4,791
Jamaica	2,200,000	6,713	328	6,554	1	6,512	351	271	168	901,019	4,630	21,271
Japan	117,009,002	63,447	1,844	60,267	11	54,317	5,801	18,282	1,273	24,282,458	84,490	144,822
Jordan	2,984,000	51	58,510	36	9	33	1	2	1	3,251	17	121
Kenya	16,500,000	2,518	6,553	2,366	8	2,196	196	347	96	719,873	3,060	8,453
Kiribati	56,000	6	9,333	4	4	4	1	478	1	4	4	70
Korea	38,723,000	28,440	1,362	27,771	5	26,488	1,841	3,449	530	5,876,706	20,945	61,530
Kosrae	3,989	20	199	19	6	18	4	4	1	5,236	25	93
Lebanon	3,012,000	1,858	1,621	1,773	2	1,739	92	71	47	246,056	967	3,760
Lesotho	1,279,000	602	2,125	588	5	562	27	58	40	124,117	421	2,720
Liberia	1,875,000	1,095	1,712	1,019	2	986	29	87	30	218,729	1,154	4,001
Libya	2,748,000	6	458,000	3	-50*	6	1	351	3	351	3	5
Liechtenstein	25,215	31	813	29	4	28	61	3	1	4,915	21	63
Luxembourg	433,500	997	435	980	6	928	61	66	20	176,032	616	2,244
Macao	375,000	13	28,846	11	-15*	13	45	6	1	9,748	23	29
Madagascar	8,000,000	1,066	8,443	1,046	8	967	29	64	29	182,580	1,639	4,888

TABLE 8 (continued)

Country	Population	1981 Peak Publs.	Ratio, One Pub- lisher to:	1981 Av. Publs.	% Inc. over 1980	1980 Av. Publs.	1981 No. Bptd.	Av. Pto. Publs.	No. of Congrs.	Total Hours	Av. Bible Studies	Memorial Atten- dance
Madagascar	262,000	380	689	342		341	20	15	9	49,225	300	1,003
Malaysia	13,652,000	565	24,163	529	9	486	34	59	19	141,588	797	1,309
Mali	5,000,000	37	135,135	34	-13*	39	3	16	1	24,165	141	95
Malta	315,262	123	2,563	97	15	84	14	11	1	22,892	76	343
Malvinas Islands	2,089	4	522	3		3			1	320	2	19
Marshall Islands	25,044	165	152	136	6	128	11	22	3	32,680	199	623
Martinique	330,000	1,210	273	1,158	9	1,060	70	32	19	156,494	866	3,273
Mauritius	938,400	474	1,980	454	10	414	47	35	9	87,208	379	1,068
Mayotte	45,000	1	45,000	1		1				672	4	4
Mexico	67,395,826	101,171	666	98,610	5	94,136	7,063	7,857	4,069	17,267,143	100,636	492,142
Montserrat	12,335	24	514	21	5	20		2	1	3,690	17	104
Morocco	19,470,000	102	190,882	87	-10*	97	1	7	2	17,645	51	184
Nauru	6,000	4	1,500	2	New		1			164	3	
Nepal	13,170,000	20	658,500	15	-6*	16		2	1	3,480	12	44
Netherlands	14,246,021	27,147	525	26,267		26,155	763	1,398	286	3,805,376	8,152	46,336
Nevils	11,230	34	330	26	18	22	1	5	1	8,481	21	85
New Caledonia	142,000	428	332	381	8	353	28	18	8	61,043	377	1,066
Newfoundland	560,000	1,097	510	1,064	1	1,049	37	78	32	167,957	404	2,122
New Zealand	3,117,000	7,430	420	6,937	3	6,737	338	448	119	1,067,049	3,537	15,717
Nicaragua	2,500,000	3,917	638	3,663	11	3,308	405	405	77	859,368	5,350	17,865
Niger	4,990,000	71	70,282	61	7	57	8	18	6	30,848	87	198
Nigeria	79,758,969	106,646	748	93,191	1	92,725	3,192	4,698	2,151	13,680,504	67,812	276,880
Niue	3,232	9	359	8	14	7	2		1	576	5	41
Norway	4,099,946	6,928	592	6,753	1	6,684	214	215	180	732,367	1,830	12,906
Pakistan	87,000,000	183	475,410	173	-4*	181	3	29	6	54,102	198	421
Palau (Belau, R.)	13,000	39	333	36	-5*	38	1	9	1	14,695	92	141
Panama	1,870,439	3,377	554	3,182	2	3,107	127	252	70	621,697	3,918	11,114
Papua New Guinea	3,006,799	1,503	2,001	1,419	2	1,398	81	110	79	253,860	1,284	5,342
Paraguay	2,877,000	1,766	1,629	1,505	2	1,471	67	100	44	238,243	1,217	3,354
Peru	18,000,000	13,832	1,301	13,510	6	12,789	1,286	1,653	308	3,121,038	15,749	55,231
Philippines	48,000,000	61,460	781	59,328	-1*	59,631	2,962	5,977	2,147	10,258,491	26,025	190,332
Ponape	22,000	70	314	60	5	57	2	12	1	19,003	76	211
Portugal	9,415,900	21,513	438	20,586	2	20,277	1,260	713	389	2,518,104	13,371	55,597
Puerto Rico	3,187,566	16,533	193	15,926	2	15,617	716	683	237	2,294,419	10,944	47,404
Réunion	530,000	649	817	618	11	558	30	35	12	114,367	462	1,845
Rodrigues	31,000	16	1,938	11		11		1	1	1,388	6	45
Rwanda	5,300,000	239	22,176	206	36	152	45	50	11	97,540	553	1,051
St. Eustatius	1,335	2	668	2	-60*	5		1		1,066	2	16
St. Helena	5,216	102	51	86	10	78	5	1	2	7,931	24	254
St. Kitts	35,135	125	281	108	-4*	112	3	7	2	15,731	78	311
St. Lucia	115,000	264	436	224	-3*	230	10	20	5	39,605	196	607
St. Martin	10,423	62	168	55	10	50	1	5	1	9,448	43	222
St. Pierre & Miquelon	6,000	9	667	6	20	5		2	1	973	1	12
St. Vincent	106,000	108	981	101		101	1	11	4	22,498	68	376
Salpan	14,335	21	683	18	13	16		6	1	8,840	28	48

TABLE 8 (continued)

San Marino	20,400	81	252	79	1	78		3	1	10,982	24	131
São Tomé	80,000	9	8,889	7		7		3	1	1,113	17	112
Senegal	5,000,000	371	13,477	349	1	344		10	57	112,132	461	907
Seychelles	65,000	43	1,512	41	8	38		3	1	7,429	55	123
Sierra Leone	3,002,426	649	4,626	610	-4*	637		20	110	192,119	869	2,819
Solomon Islands	210,000	526	399	478	4	461		9	69	106,484	459	2,624
South Africa	29,949,223	27,981	1,070	26,503	1	26,247		1,148	1,752	4,435,893	16,837	85,209
South-West Africa	908,800	321	2,831	287	-5*	302		20	25	64,530	237	807
Spain	37,796,846	47,906	789	46,062	6	43,368		3,201	3,257	8,374,360	32,343	102,159
Sri Lanka	14,850,000	653	22,741	637	5	609		52	122	215,820	775	2,240
Sudan	19,600,000	102	192,157	99	11	88		7	7	21,638	147	281
Suriname	350,000	806	434	773		773		51	66	144,743	620	2,583
Swaziland	554,589	686	808	612	3	596		27	29	104,703	424	2,084
Sweden	8,317,937	17,770	468	17,314	2	16,934		609	1,286	2,584,592	7,389	30,081
Switzerland	6,365,960	11,053	576	10,649	3	10,362		514	333	1,444,035	5,787	19,785
Syria	8,088,000	160	50,550	137	-7*	147		1	4	18,833	74	323
Tahiti	146,124	443	330	431	-3*	445		23	40	76,484	366	1,179
Taiwan	18,000,000	937	19,210	902		902		37	148	242,387	763	2,524
Tanzania	19,200,000	1,621	11,845	1,583	9	1,449		54	153	341,791	1,219	4,833
Thailand	46,961,338	763	61,548	740	3	717		48	111	192,075	613	1,694
Togo	2,666,220	1,710	1,559	1,472	7	1,372		36	16	103,135	931	3,283
Tonga	90,728	29	3,129	27	8	25		2	6	10,771	52	89
Trinidad	1,106,638	3,362	329	3,154	3	3,053		105	299	576,611	2,935	8,555
Truk	31,600	35	903	31		31		3	5	8,532	38	192
Tunisia	6,600,000	51	129,412	48	-8*	52			1	4,809	24	104
Turkey	45,000,000	793	56,747	766	-3*	791		32	54	141,557	456	1,297
Turks & Caicos Isls.	7,650	28	273	25		25		2	5	8,177	33	82
Tuvalu Islands	8,000	19	421	15	25	12		3	3	5,059	38	110
Uganda	14,100,000	206	68,447	186	28	145		48	21	53,978	316	536
U.S. of America	224,624,344	588,503	382	563,452	4	543,457		28,496	38,933	86,724,369	322,207	1,463,070
Upper Volta	6,147,363	168	36,591	153	11	138		18	43	71,333	330	653
Uruguay	2,788,429	4,288	650	4,043	-2*	4,113		189	316	721,416	3,933	12,127
Vanuatu	116,000	47	2,468	38	-17*	46		3	5	10,396	70	164
Venezuela	17,000,000	17,109	994	16,283	8	15,025		1,484	1,218	3,043,687	18,231	57,645
Virgin Is. (Brit.)	11,888	82	145	75		75			2	8,166	42	274
Virgin Is. (U.S.)	95,214	478	199	454	4	436		9	27	65,975	374	1,650
Wallis & Futuna Isls.	9,000	2	4,500	2		2				154	1	
West Berlin	1,893,500	4,925	384	4,819	-2*	4,900		134	155	607,251	1,522	7,116
Western Samoa	156,893	132	1,189	118	17	101		10	19	36,874	125	799
Yap	7,869	41	192	38		38		2	9	14,791	70	118
Zaire	27,000,000	25,753	1,048	24,015	17	20,455		2,271	3,556	6,861,785	36,999	107,766
Zambia	5,679,808	51,583	110	49,949	-2*	50,708		1,766	2,931	7,973,272	53,182	262,708
Zimbabwe	7,600,000	10,594	717	10,078	-1*	10,204		645	560	1,531,160	6,004	28,103
180 Countries		2,138,373		2,041,522	3.7	1,968,407		111,664	146,913	339,506,813	1,378,096	5,634,979
† 26 Other Countries		223,523		205,964	-0.5*	206,996		8,172	4,267	19,074,734	97,081	352,914
GRAND TOTAL (206 countries)		2,361,896		2,247,486	3.3	2,175,403		119,836	151,180	358,581,547	1,475,177	5,987,893

* Percentage of decrease
† Work banned and reports are incomplete

MEMORIAL PARTAKERS WORLDWIDE 9,601

TABLE 9

International Publishers and Pioneers				
Year	Average Publishers	Peak Publishers	% Inc.	Pioneers
1940	-----	95,327	-----	-----
1945	127,478	141,606	-----	6,700
1950	328,572	373,430	18	-----
1955	570,694	642,929	8.5	17,011
1960	851,378	916,332	6	30,584
1961	884,587	965,169	3.9	29,844
1962	920,920	989,192	4.1	33,560
1963	956,648	1,040,836	3.9	38,573
1964	1,001,870	1,075,523	4.7	42,938
1965	1,034,268	1,001,870	3.2	47,853
1966	1,058,675	1,118,665	2.4	47,092
1967	1,094,280	1,160,604	3.4	53,764
1968	1,155,826	1,221,504	5.6	63,871
1969	1,256,784	1,336,112	1.7	76,515
1970	1,384,782	1,483,430	10.2	88,871
1971	1,510,245	1,590,739	9.1	95,501
1972	1,596,442	1,658,990	5.7	92,026
1973	1,656,673	1,758,429	3.8	94,604
1974	1,880,713	2,021,432	13.5	127,135
1975	2,062,449	2,179,256	9.7	130,225
1976	2,138,537	2,248,390	3.7	196,656
1977	2,117, 194	2,223,538	-1.0	124,459
1978	2,086,678	2,182,341	-1.4	115,389
1979	2,097,070	2,186,075	.5	127,558
1980	2,175,403	2,272,278	3.7	113,779

II

*Bible Interpretation as the
Prerogative of the Organization*

The belief in the veracity of the Bible lies at the heart of the mythic history of Jehovah's Witnesses; indeed it is the *modus operandi* of their whole religious culture. In the Bible, Witnesses believe, is to be found the key to human existence, past, present and future. Two scriptures are used to support this position: *Hebrews* 6: 17 from which they deduce that it is impossible for God to lie, and 2 *Timothy* 3: 16, 17 which reads:

All Scripture is inspired of God and beneficial for teaching, for reproving, for setting things straight, for disciplining in righteousness, that the man of God may be fully equipped for every good work (*NWT*).

Their absolute reliance upon the literal accuracy of the Bible lies at the heart of their mythic structure which uses Bible chronology as an interpretative device for defining their own organizational history as well as the history of the world at large:

Jehovah is the "Ancient of Days" and the God of Eternity. That he is an accurate Timekeeper is evident, not only from the superb precision manifest in the movements of the stellar bodies, but also from the divine record of his acts. In fulfilment

of his promises or prophecies, he caused events to occur at the exact time foretold, whether the intervening time was of only a day, a year, decades, centuries, or millenniums. We are assured that his purposes for the future are certain of execution at the predetermined time, right down to the day and hour designated. . . .

Human reckoning and recording of time periods has continued from Adam's day till the present hour (ABU 1971: 322).

Jehovah's Witnesses maintain that the most accurate chronological chart of human history can be mapped out by reference to the Bible alone. Apparent inconsistencies in timing are regarded as misunderstandings on the part of the reader, for "the evidence already at hand convincingly demonstrates the remarkable accuracy and care that distinguished the copying of the Bible books, resulting in the preservation of their internal integrity"(ABU 1971: 223).

By and large, the Witnesses debunk secular histories and chronologies which do not conform to the Bible account, claiming that they "do not qualify as the standard of accuracy by which to judge Bible chronology":

When considering the records of these pagan nations that had relations with the nation of Israel, it should be kept in mind that some of the apparent discrepancies in their records may simply be due to the inability of modern historians to interpret correctly the methods anciently used, similar to their inability to

interpret correctly the methods used by the Biblical historians. There is, however, considerable evidence of definite carelessness and inaccuracy or even of deliberate falsification on the part of the pagan historians and chronologers (ABU 1971: 333).

By contrast, "the Bible provides a connected history that allows for a methodical count back to the beginning of human history" (ABU 1971: 333). By relying on key "pivotal points" or "pivotal dates" referred to in the Bible and corroborated by secular sources, calculations can be made forwards and backwards in time to give rather precise dating of specific events recorded in the Bible. In this way, Jehovah's Witnesses calculate that Adam was created in 4026 B.C.E. (Before the Common Era) -- that is to say, 6,000 years prior to 1975 (one year being lost in transfer from ordinal to cardinal numbers from B.C.E. to 1 C.E.). The basic framework of this chronology and types of data used are best exemplified in the tables in Appendix D.

According to the mythic history, Adam was created towards the end of the sixth creative day referred to in the first chapter of Genesis. This thesis was expounded upon in *Aid to Bible Understanding* as follows:

The Bible does not specify the length of each of the creative periods. Yet all six of them have ended, it being said with respect to the sixth day (as in the case of each of the preceding five days): "And there came to be evening and there came to be morning, a sixth day". (Gen. 1: 31) However, this statement is not made regarding the seventh day, on which God proceeded to rest, indicating that it continued. (Gen. 2: 1-3) Also, more than 4,000 years after the seventh day or God's rest day commenced, Paul indicated that it was still in progress The thousand-year reign of Jesus Christ . . . is evidently part of the great sabbath, God's rest day (*Revelation* 20: 1-6; and *ABU* 1971: 392).

Since Christ is called the "Lord of the sabbath" and since Paul refers to entering into "that rest," meaning into the 1,000 year rule of Christ, it follows (the Witnesses argue) that the "seventh day" is comprised of seven units of 1,000 years, the seventh unit corresponding to the millennium. "Also indicative of this is Peter's inspired observation that 'one day is with Jehovah as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day'" (*ABU* 1971: 392). Therefore, they conclude, the "seventh day" is seven thousand years long. Since it culminates with "that rest" or the millennial rule of Christ, and since this millennial rule must be preceded by Armageddon, or "the war of the great day of God the Almighty" (*Revelation* 19:14), and since six thousand years of human history since Adam has already expired,

Jehovah's Witnesses believe that the world very shortly will be shaken into recognizing the supremacy of Jehovah God by the most violent means imaginable.

Many Jehovah's Witnesses, firmly believing that Armageddon was due to arrive by October, 1975 -- the postulated 6,000th anniversary of Adam's creation -- sold their properties and quit their jobs, bracing themselves for the inevitable. Many could not understand why the world as we know it was not destroyed then and there. But an explanation was soon forthcoming from the Society: Adam and Eve were the culmination of God's creation, and therefore were created *towards the end* of the sixth creative day. But *how close* to the end is nowhere specified. Thus there is an indeterminate period from Adam's creation until the *end* of the sixth creative day and his fall from God's grace that now is crucial for millions of Jehovah's Witnesses who await "the end of this system of things" (*The Watchtower*, 15 July 1976: 432).

Obviously there is still a lot of leeway for interpretation here. The period of time elapsing from the creation of Adam to the next recorded chronological event, the birth of Seth, is 130 years (*Genesis* 5:3). During that time (in terms of the culture myth), Eve was created, Adam and Eve succumbed to temptation, they

were cast from the Garden of Eden, and they gave birth to two sons, Cain and Abel, who grew old enough to farm before Cain killed his brother. Eve conceived Seth "in place of Abel, because Cain killed him" (*Genesis* 4: 25). All of this points to the fact that in terms of interpretation as to the exact time of the impending "Second Coming" of Christ to earth and the War of Armageddon -- an essential mytheme in the complex mythic history of Jehovah's Witnesses -- there is a great deal of flexibility, a variable of as much as a century. However, the Witnesses believe that Armageddon must come in "this generation," meaning in the lifespan of a man (70 years) from 1914. Unless the Governing Body "changes the ends" -- that is *recalculates* Bible Chronology once again -- they are stuck with the limitation of 1984 as being the final date for Armageddon to come. What will happen to the Witnesses after 1984 (if Armageddon does not materialize) remains to be seen. They have nevertheless taken care not to stress this impending Orwellian date with destiny.

It is important for the viability of the culture myth of Jehovah's Witnesses in the Twentieth Century (when man for the first time has demonstrated that global destruction is a distinct possibility) that a

sense of urgency be sustained. For this reason it is claimed by Jehovah's Witnesses that *immediately after* the account of Adam and Eve being cast from the Garden of Eden, the Bible refers to the fact that "Adam had intercourse with Eve his wife and she became pregnant. In time she gave birth to Cain" (*Genesis* 4: 1). Also emphasized is the fact that Cain made his offering to God (which was not regarded with favour) "at the expiration of some time" (*Genesis* 4: 3; and *ABU* 1971: 275). Further, "Since Seth was evidently born shortly after Abel's death and when Adam was 130 years of age, it is possible that Abel may have been as much as 100 years old at the time of his martyrdom" (*ABU* 1971: 13). It is interesting to note that the straightforward murder of Abel is interpreted as "martyrdom" by Jehovah's Witnesses even though no persecution prior to death was indicated. Abel is thus regarded as being the first "Jehovah's Witness" (*Hebrews* 11: 4; 12: 1).

Much of the early mythic history of Jehovah's Witnesses recorded in the Bible is seen to foreshadow, prefigure, or prophesy subsequent events either in later mythic history or in the secular history of Jehovah's Witnesses since 1870. Biblical history -- and therefore the mythic history of the Witnesses -- is thus seen to be cyclical. The Flood foreshadows Armageddon.

Abraham's attempted sacrifice foreshadows Jehovah's sacrifice of his son, Christ. Isaac's favouring of the younger Jacob over the older Esau foreshadows God's favouring of the new Christian Gentiles over the orthodox Jews. Joseph's faithfulness in the face of worldly adversity and temptation is presented as a model for Christian men today. Moses' leading Jehovah's people out of Egypt foreshadows Christ's leading Jehovah's people out of the world to the safety of his earthly organization, represented by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society. Joshua's taking over of responsibility from Moses foreshadows the inheritance of the mantle of responsibility in the modern organization, from Charles Taze Russell to "Judge" Rutherford to Nathan Homer Knorr to Frederick Franz. David's respect for Saul as king sets the example for Jehovah's Witnesses to respect worldly authority and rulership in the Twentieth Century -- without necessarily obeying it where it conflicts with Jehovah's express laws. The list of correspondences of this kind is virtually endless.

Furthermore, all major events in history up to the present day, from the point of view of Jehovah's Witnesses, had been prophesied in the Bible well ahead of time, from the succession of world powers (Assyria,

Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Rome, the Holy Roman Empire, the British Empire, the United States of America, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) to conflict between such powers, including that of the Anglo-American alliance ("The King of the South") and the Communist Bloc ("The King of the North")(YWBD 1958: 195). Prophecies of Daniel and Ezekiel are cited at length, sometimes with whole paragraphs outlining parallels between a specific incident in one verse of the Bible. Similarly, the rise in popularity of "Babylon the Great" (all religions other than Jehovah's Witnesses) up to the turn of the current century and its declining influence in the world since 1914 have been charted in history with careful reference to Biblical prophecy concerning its rise and fall. Since the words of the prophets foreshadow the latter-day inspiration of God through earthly representatives of his supposed organization, it follows that these representatives are able to keep abreast of the "new" or "progressive light" of understanding (they argue), and present such interpretations or analyses of Biblical prophecy for the broad membership of Jehovah's Witnesses worldwide, through the auspices of its publishing and organizational centre, the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society.

Subtle shifts of interpretation have been introduced by extensive Bible scholarship by this "official" or "legal" spokesman for Jehovah's Witnesses:

It is reasonable that correct understanding of prophecy would still be made available by God through the congregation, particularly in the foretold "time of the end," not miraculously but as the result of their diligent investigation and study and comparison of prophecy with circumstances and events taking place (ABU 1971: 1346).

At least one translation of the Bible has been released by the "congregation" which contains shifts of meaning supportive of the mythic history -- a translation that is substantiatable in line-by-line interpretations owing to happy ambiguities and nuances of meaning in the original Biblical languages.

Although Jehovah's Witnesses purport to interpret the Bible more-or-less literally as a collective book inspired by God, other shifts in the mythic history are allowed by interpretation of key passages of Scripture as symbolic or "figurative" rather than as literal. Often interpretation of one passage as literal and another as symbolic appear rather arbitrary. A classic example of such interpretation is their treatment of *Revelation* 14, which introduces a concept fundamental to the Witnesses' doctrine -- that 144,000 Chosen Ones *only* will go to heaven to reign with Christ:

And I saw, and, look! the Lamb standing upon the Mount Zion, and with him a hundred and forty-four thousand having his name and the name of his Father written upon their foreheads

These are the ones that did not defile themselves with women; in fact, they are virgins (*Revelation* 14: 1, 4 NWT).

Since the inception of the religion in the 1870's, the actual number of the "Bride Class" referred to here has remained a literal one. All Jehovah's Witnesses except "the Remnant" of this select group (all but approximately 10,000 have already died) hold hopes for everlasting life on earth rather than in heaven. But whereas other religions such as the Roman Catholic Church might interpret the number of those who are destined to enjoy heavenly bliss as being symbolic of a far broader representation of humanity than implied in the actual figure, and have interpreted the implied celibacy literally by extending it to priests and nuns who take vows of chastity, Jehovah's Witnesses have gone to the other extreme:

. . . Their 'not defiling themselves with women' and their being "virgins" [*sic*] would not mean that none of these 144,000 persons had ever been married, for the Scriptures do not forbid marriage to persons on earth who are to be joint heirs with Christ The "Women" [*sic*] therefore must be symbolic women, doubtless religious organizations such as Babylon the Great and her 'daughters,' false religious organizations,

the joining of and participation in which would prevent one from being spotless. (Rev. 17: 5) This symbolic description harmonizes with the requirement in the Law that the high priest of Israel could take only a virgin for his wife, for Jesus Christ is Jehovah's great High Priest (ABU 1971: 1667).

The mode of presentation of this specific doctrine or mytheme of Jehovah's Witnesses is typical of the process of the development of its culture myth since the inception of the sect. At first, doctrinal matters were straightforward positions adopted by the proponents of a small group of Bible students. From the beginning, such fundamental doctrines have defined the mythic history of the culture group to the extent that they have distinguished Jehovah's Witnesses from all other religions. The doctrines are thus firmly entrenched in the belief system and constitute the premises or hallmarks of the myth -- indeed of the culture itself. Shifts of meaning or interpretation tend to take place on the periphery of a given premise, doctrine, or mytheme; in the case of the 144,000, the number itself remains fixed and immutable but the interpretation of the given facts defining the number remains variable -- hence the use of such nebulous and noncommittal expressions as "must be" and "doubtless" used in the passage cited above.

Another significant factor demonstrated here is the close relationship pointed to by Jehovah's Witnesses between the Old and New Testaments (or Hebrew and Greek Scriptures -- "Old" implies outmoded and Jehovah's Witnesses use both "testaments" equally). Here, the word "harmonizes" is the key: Jehovah's Witnesses categorically deny as "impossible" any inconsistency between any two scriptures in the Bible: any apparent conflict or contradiction is regarded as a failure to understand the context, for "all Scripture is inspired of God," and "it is impossible for God to lie."

Despite the accepted veracity of the Bible and the acknowledgement that Paul admonished the "spiritual man" to examine "all things" (1 *Corinthians* 2: 15), the Society has of late been most adamant that the Governing Body collectively is the sole channel of communication from God to man. It has actively discouraged independent Bible study, not only among members at large, but even among members of the volunteer "Bethel family." To quote *The Watchtower* of 1967:

The Bible is an organizational book and belongs to the Christian congregation as an organization; not to individuals, regardless of how sincerely they may believe that they can interpret the Bible. For this reason the Bible cannot be properly understood without Jehovah's visible organization in mind (1 October 1967: 587).

This was merely the rephrasing of an earlier *Watchtower* reference:

In view of its unbreakable connection with the Christian Theocratic Organization; the Bible is organization-minded and it cannot be fully understood without our having the Theocratic organization in mind All the sheep in God's flock must be organization minded, like the Bible (15 September 1954: 528).

More recently, in 1981, the same theme was reinforced in an article entitled "Do We Need Help to Understand the Bible?" The article concluded:

The record that the "faithful and discreet slave" organization has made for the past more than 100 years forces us to the conclusion that Peter expressed when Jesus asked if his apostles also wanted to leave him, namely, "Whom shall we go away to?" (*John* 6: 66-69). No question about it. We all need help to understand the Bible, and we cannot find the Scriptural guidance we need outside the "faithful and discreet slave" organization (*The Watchtower*, 15 February 1981: 19).

This article was the first external manifestation of a deep doctrinal rift occurring in the Brooklyn headquarters respecting the right of individuals to examine the Bible for themselves. On April 30, 1980, just prior to Raymond Franz being stripped of his duties, Karl Klein advised the Bethel family, "If you have a tendency towards apostacy, get a hobby and keep yourself busy to keep your mind off it. Stay away from deep Bible study to determine meanings of the scriptures."

Ironically, both the written and oral traditions of past years have been heavily saturated with directives to "read" and "study" the Bible. While members inside the Brooklyn Bethel are being told explicitly to stay away from independent study and reading of the Bible, members at the congregation level are being encouraged more pointedly to study "Bible literature" of the Organization. The "ideal," however, must not be allowed to evaporate: it is too close to the heart of the belief system. Thus the March 15th 1982 *Watchtower* contained an article called "Loyally Advocating the Word of God," featuring this photograph (21):

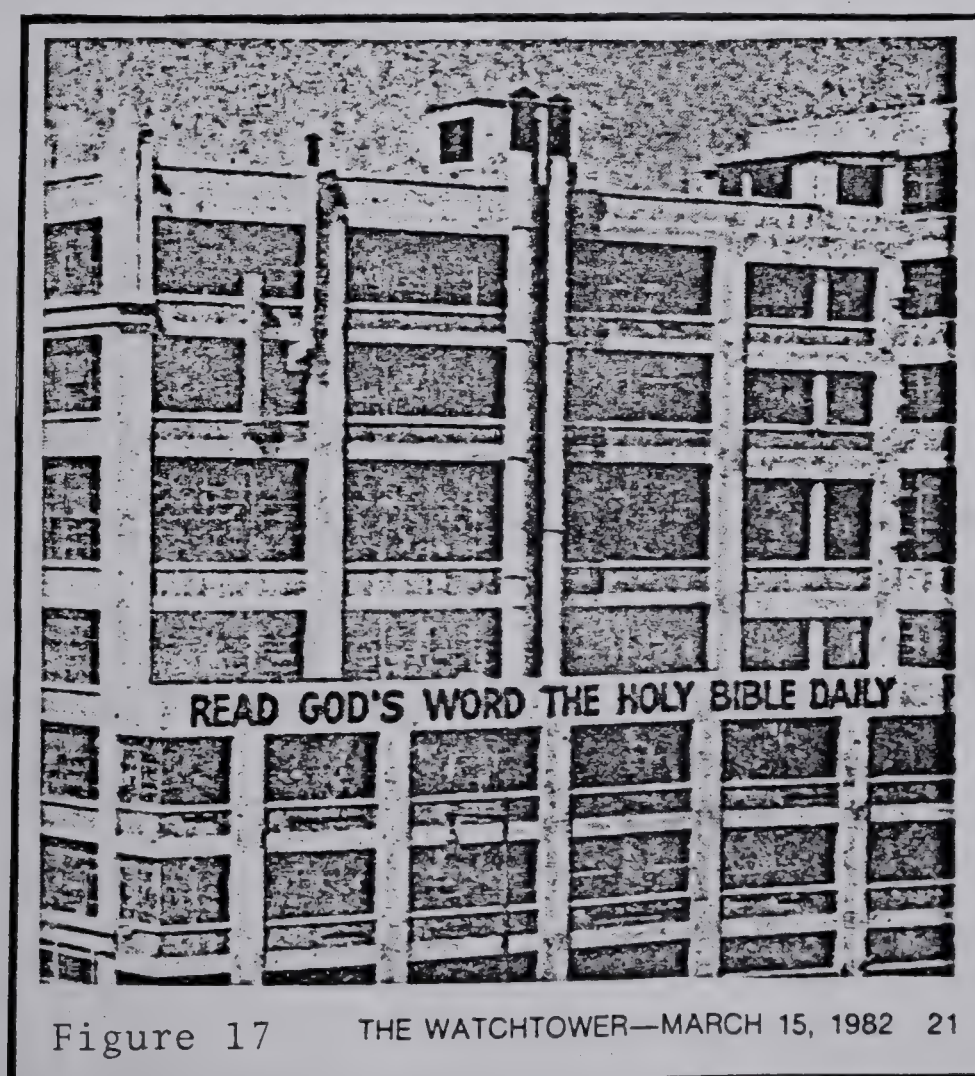


Figure 17 THE WATCHTOWER—MARCH 15, 1982 21

The accompanying text repeats the slogan:

"READ GOD'S WORD THE HOLY BIBLE DAILY."
These words appear on the side of a large building situated in Brooklyn, New York, near the approach to the famous Brooklyn Bridge. On whose building do these words appear, and why?

They are on one of the printing factories operated by the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, a religious corporation associated with Jehovah's Witnesses. Why? Because they firmly believe that the inspired psalmist was telling the truth when he long ago wrote: "Your word is a lamp to my foot, and a light to my roadway." (Psalms 119: 105). This sign is just one of the many ways in which we Witnesses show that we loyally advocate God's Word (20).

"God's Word" has long been equated by the Witnesses with "God's Law":

Jehovah God is designated as the Source of law, the Supreme Lawgiver (Isa. 33:22), the Sovereign, delegating authority (Ps. 73:28; Jer. 50:25; Luke 2:29; Acts 4:24; Rev. 6:10) and without whose permission or allowance no authority can be exercised. (Rom. 13:1; Dan. 4:35; Acts 17:24-31) (ABU 1971: 1035).

The "advocate" of God's Law is identified with the "faithful and discreet slave" class, which in turn "is identified with the Watch Tower Society" (*The Watchtower*, 15 March-1982: 21). Addressing the elders of the Bethel family in May, 1980, Lloyd Barry, now vice-president of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, was very explicit about the application of the word

"Law" to the "mother organization," suggesting that the Governing Body is not merely an *advocate* of the Law but a *lawmaker* in its own right:

'When we talk about law, we talk about organization. With all our hearts we need to search after that law. Jehovah doesn't give individuals interpretation. We need a guide, and that is the 'faithful and discreet slave'. We should not be getting together in a clique to discuss views contrary to the 'faithful and discreet slave'. We must recognize the source of our instruction. We must be like an ass, be humble, and stay in the manger; and we won't get any poison' (Watters 1981: 5).

At the same meeting (on May 29, 1980, a week after Raymond Franz was dismissed), Albert Schroeder, another member of the Governing Body, said that "some have fallen away from the Organization -- not from the Bible -- saying there is no need for coming under law," He elaborated:

'We serve not only Jehovah God but we are under our 'mother'. Our 'mother' has the right to make rules and regulations for us This book, entitled *Branch Office Procedure*, contains 28 subjects; and its sub-sections involve regulations and administration. In it there are 1,177 policies and regulations This is an improved, fine-tuned organization; and we are expected to follow its policies. If there are some who feel that they cannot subject themselves to the rules and regulations now in operation, such ones ought to be leaving and not be involved here in the further progressive work' (Watters 1981: 4).

Schroeder said of those who had been studying the Bible independently, "All the things they are teaching ignore the framework we have been developing all these many years," echoing the disappointment of Frederick Franz himself who four days before had told the assembled Bethel family that the dissidents "expected me to ignore the influences of world events in the light of Bible prophecy for the last 67 years, and to start over where we began 67 years ago" (Watters 1981: 3).

Despite the Society's insistence that Jehovah's Witnesses follow its dictates, upon pain of disfellowshipping, it does not claim infallibility. Thus the membership is at the mercy of the Society in terms of doctrinal shift. The membership must believe in the oracle, no matter how ill-informed it may be -- and indeed Frederick Franz is considered by members of the Governing Body to have been "our oracle for the last 67 years" (Watters 1981: 3). The oracle himself admitted, under cross-examination in a legal hearing¹ that from time to time "there was a need for a review

1. Transcript of Record: Pursuers Proof in the Case of Douglas Walsh vs. The Right Honourable James Latham Clyde, M.P., P.C. as representing the Minister of Labour and National Services, in the Scottish Court of Sessions, November, 1954. (This was a conscription case.)

of our beliefs respecting how the prophecies would be fulfilled" (Transcript: 105):

Q. So that what is published as the truth today by the Society may have to be admitted to be wrong in a few years?

A. We have to wait and see.

Q. And in the meantime the body of Jehovah's Witnesses have been following error?

A. No. They have been following misconstructions on the Scriptures.

Q. Error?

A. Well, error. (Transcript: 114).

The importance of Bible Chronology to the Witnesses was emphasized by Franz as the interrogation continued. Asked about the speculated date of Adam's creation, which had been "altered three times", Franz replied:

A. The date has been corrected.

Q. But once the date was published by the Society all Jehovah's Witnesses were bound to accept it as Scripturally true?

A. Yes.

Q. And liable to be dis-fellowshipped if they demurred to the date?

A. If they caused trouble over it, because the Scriptures say that if anyone is a disturber inside the congregation he is hindering the growth of the congregation -- and its activities and should be dis-fellowshipped.

Q. Even though he per chance were supporting the date now taken by the Society when the Society was publishing a wrong date?

A. One who may have a difference of

understanding like that will wait upon Jehovah God to see if he is correct, and he will abide by what is published for the time being.

- Q. But if he so awaits and understands he is correct what is he to do?
- A. He gets blessing because of his submission and waiting upon Jehovah and not leaving it to his own understanding.
- Q. In this respect also, namely the date of the coming of mankind upon the earth, two errors have been published as authoritative Scripture?
- A. Yes, as authoritative chronological dates. The creation of man remains absolutely true. (Transcript: 119).

Franz' view was reinforced the next day by the Society's lawyer, H. G. Covington, who added, "You must understand we must have unity, we cannot have disunity with a lot of people going every way; an army is supposed to march in step".

- Q. If a member of Jehovah's Witnesses took the view himself that the prophecy was wrong and said so he would be disfellowshipped?
- A. Yes, if he said so and kept persisting in creating troubles, because if the whole organization believes one thing, even though it be erroneous, and somebody else starts on his own trying to put his ideas across, then there is disunity and trouble, there cannot be harmony, there cannot be marching Our purpose is to have unity.
- Q. Unity at all costs?.
- A. Unity at all costs

Q. And unity based upon an enforced acceptance of false prophecy?

A. That is conceded to be true.
(Transcript: 346-347).¹

Grant Suiter, Secretary of the Society, was asked if there could be any understanding of the Bible apart from Witness publications:

A. No.

Q. Only by the publications can he have right understanding of the Scriptures?

A. That is right. (Transcript: 503).

The Governing Body, then, claims divine right when it comes to legislating what is right or wrong in terms of the interpretation of scripture, without the stricture of infallibility.

1. Ironically, Covington was himself disfellowshipped subsequent to the hearing, despite decades of faithful service as the Society's chief lawyer. Two years later, he was reinstated -- only to be disfellowshipped a second time. He died in penury, a bitterly disappointed man, who sincerely believed that he had been robbed of his right to serve with Christ as one of the 144,000 Chosen Ones (Penton: Conversation 15 February 1982).

III

*Self-Fulfilling Prophecy
And the Legitimization of Power*

The symbolic vision of the Witnesses may seem phantasmagorical to the uninitiated observer, and their behaviour in relation to the vision incomprehensible. Yet to the committed Witness, there is no sense of unreality whatsoever in his worldview. This aspect of the individual's knowledge of the world within which he lives was described succinctly by P. D. Ouspensky when he wrote that it is

. . . not a confused perception of a *real* world. It is a *very acute* perception of an *entirely unreal world* appearing round about us at the moment of our contact with the world of true causes . . . (Ouspensky [1920] 1970: 13).

Following the same line of reasoning, Eric Dardel wrote:

Our 'truth' of the moment is often only a myth that does not know it is one We make myths every day without knowing it. The myth making function is a universal and fundamental phenomena [*sic*] of whose emotional motivation the mind is largely unconscious (Sebeok 1972: 20).

The acceptance of the symbolic vision or myth as 'truth' is underscored by the Witnesses in their reference to their worldview as "the Truth": to be

a Witness is to be "in the Truth". As to Dardel's suggestion that much of the motivation behind the acceptance of such a vision is "unconscious", certain objections must be raised. First, while the individual may indeed not subject himself to a psychoanalytical examination of his motives in accepting the vision, many Witnesses are quite capable of articulating their expectations in terms of a desire for a life free of pain and death, or a reunion with loved ones during the resurrection. Second, we are not dealing with the nebulous and unspoken dream-like images of a "collective unconscious" of Carl Jung, or an "unknown knowingness" of Carl Rogers. In examining the symbolic vision of Jehovah's Witnesses, we are dealing directly with the constituent aspects of the knowing consciousness which both informs and directs human behaviour.

It is precisely in this propensity to create for himself symbolic worlds that man distinguishes himself from the rest of life on this planet, as William Barrett, echoing the words of Friedrich Nietzsche, noted:

. . . He can never be understood as an animal species within the zoological order of nature, because he has broken free of nature and thereby posed the question of his own meaning -- and with it the meaning of nature as well -- as his destiny (Barrett 1962: 179-180).

Yet man remains a highly social creature, and expresses his concerns through his community -- community based not so much on economic or biological imperatives as on shared visions of purpose and destiny. As a result of this aspect of human socialization, there is a tendency to talk of "group visions." Yet essentially, as Paul Tillich has noted, "There is no centre in a group in the sense in which it exists in a person"; the symbols live in the consciousnesses of individual persons, and "there is no collective anxiety save an anxiety which has overtaken many or all members of a group and has been intensified or changed by becoming universal" (Tillich [1952] 1962: 94). The visions, goals, and anxieties alike, therefore, become group phenomena constituting a social "power-pack" only to the extent to which they involve other like-minded individuals in participation within a community of believers. And within the symbolically homogenous community, the individual asserts a personal power over his own destiny by affirming his own meaning supported by the tradition and authority of that community (Tillich [1952] 1962: 80).

In the case of Jehovah's Witnesses, the divine law of the community is imposed upon the individual as

soon as he has made his initial commitment based on a decision to save his own soul (de Beauvoir 1948: 16). This commitment is in itself a conscious act of will executed for the achievement of a personal goal within the context of the community. "Will" used in this sense is parallel to the definition given by Paul Tillich in *The Courage To Be* when he wrote that Nietzsche's will to power was neither will in the psychological sense nor power in the sociological sense; but rather the self-affirmation of life -- which includes the drive for self-preservation and growth. In this sense, will is the self-affirmation of the "truth" of the mythic or symbolic vision and is directed at the realization of the goals expressed therein as ultimate reality (Tillich [1952] 1962: 36).

Within the community of believers, the symbolic system establishes the "world reality" and in so doing becomes the paradigmatic model for all human activities within that community (Eliade 1959: 97-98). Collective activity, however, demands social mechanisms for its own orchestration and effectiveness. In order to achieve this, authority must be vested in a body or organization whose interpretations of the symbolic complex and edicts pertaining thereto will be obeyed

by the constituent membership. Such vested authority must be legitimized for the membership, and in the case of Jehovah's Witnesses, the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society derives its legitimacy from the same source as the symbolic vision itself -- the Bible.

In a world of competing fundamentalist religions, it is necessary to distill from the overall symbolic corpus that which distinguishes the "organization" as a unique and valid mechanism in the community members' struggle for salvation. This was accomplished during the administration of Rutherford to the satisfaction of the community in a series of perceived prophetic parallels which refer specifically to the historical development of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society. By presenting itself as the fulfilment of Bible prophecy, it has been able to justify its claims to further realization of group goals, and hence has come to have power over the group (*The Watchtower*, 1 March 1982: 3 - 9; see Table 10 below. An expanded explanation of the themes set out in Table 10 is contained in Appendix E).

TABLE 10

PROPHECY AND ORGANIZATIONAL HISTORY		
PROPHECY	TIME PERIOD	INTERPRETATION
"SEVEN TIMES" or the appointed times of the nations (<i>Daniel</i> 4: 16, 23, 25 and <i>Luke</i> 21: 24).	Began in 7th lunar month (Ethanim -- September to October) 607 B.C.C. Ended 7th lunar month, A.D. 1914.	End of the anointed times of the nations marks beginning of Christ's second coming.
"TIMES, TWO TIMES, AND HALF A TIME" (<i>Daniel</i> 7: 25; 12: 7). Also compare 42 months of <i>Revelation</i> .	Began in first half of November, 1914. Ended May 7, 1918, with arrest of Watch Tower Society's officers and companions.	Satan the Devil ousted from heaven and with the nations of the earth whose time has ended strikes out at "Jehovah's People."
"THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED AND NINETY DAYS" (<i>Daniel</i> 12: 11).	Began the end of January 1919. Ended the first half of September, 1922, at the Cedar Point, Ohio assembly.	Period of reorganization, ends with announcement concerning the "Other Sheep," a new stage in preaching activity
"TEN THOUSAND THREE HUNDRED AND THIRTY FIVE DAYS" (<i>Daniel</i> 12: 12).	Began first half of September, 1922, at Cedar Point assembly. Ended May, 1926, at London International assembly.	Period of great "happiness" as prophesied by Daniel. A period of unprecedented growth.
"TWO THOUSAND AND THREE HUNDRED EVENINGS AND MORNINGS" (<i>Daniel</i> 8: 14).	Began in May, 1926 at London International assembly. Ended October 15, 1932, with the official publication of notice in <i>The Watch Tower</i> that Jehovah's sanctuary had been "cleansed."	Period of decrease as some of membership gave up "waiting." Seen as a necessary "in-house" cleaning before enacting written resolution's promise to world rulers that Jehovah would crush them.

As indicated in the preceding chart, a convention of Witnesses held at Cedar Point, Ohio on September 8, 1922, was to become a major landmark in the organization's history. During this gathering it was announced that the organization was once more prepared to function at capacity after the war years. The resumption of the "preaching work" was spurred on by Rutherford in his best remembered statement:

"The kingdom of heaven is at hand! . . . You are his publicity agents. Therefore advertise, advertise, advertise, the King and his Kingdom!" (JWDP 1959: 102).

The scriptural quotation which supported the next prophetic element is *Daniel* 12: 12:

Happy is the one who is keeping in expectation and who arrives at the one thousand three hundred and thirty-five days! (NWT).

One thousand, three hundred and thirty-five days takes one from September 1922 to May 1926. These intervening years saw an annual increase in membership as follows:

1922	32,661
1923	42,000
1924	62,696
1925	90,434

The significance of membership numbers as an indicator of Jehovah's blessings was taking root, but 1926, the end of the time for waiting, saw a temporary decrease in membership to 89,278. Disappointment over learning

that only 144,000 individuals could qualify for heaven was augmented by the failure of a Rutherford prophecy of September 25th, 1920 that the saints and prophets from the Old Testament would be resurrected in 1925. Rutherford went so far as to arrange housing for them in a huge mansion in San Diego called "Beth Sarim". The "Ancients" failed to materialize, however, and Rutherford lived alone in the mansion until his death in 1942 (Stroup 1945: 42; Rogerson 1969: 48; Hewitt 1970: 90). The Witnesses' own official history ignored the Beth Sarim controversy entirely, offering another reason for discontent:

The view had been somewhat general among the anointed that the remaining members of the body of Christ would be changed to heavenly glory that year (JWDP 1959: 107).

The combination of Rutherford's monetary extravagance in setting up Beth Sarim and his failure to predict accurately the comings and goings of Saints and Anointed Ones undoubtedly undermined morale and took its toll in terms of declining membership. This temporary threat to the organization's legitimacy as official spokesman for Jehovah was, however, dealt with to the satisfaction of the majority of the members by the organization's insistence that they had all passed through a "test". As the official history explained,

A flood of new spiritual truths came to Jehovah's people, truths that further tested the devotion of those in line for the Kingdom (JWDP 1959: 107).

Being tested implied that there was an external tester, and an appropriate scapegoat was sought. A drop in following coincident with the purported end of the waiting period indicated to the Witnesses that they had just come through a "time of testing" and some of their fellows had not measured up, but at a major assembly held in London, England from May 24 to 31, 1926, a formal resolution was drawn up which pointedly attacked world political leaders. In a show of strength designed to impress the membership with the power of Jehovah's organization they gave world leaders "warning" that they had but "2,300 pathetic days to mark off when Jehovah's sanctuary should be restored to its rightful state"(YWBDE 1958: 338; and JWDP 1959: 102-104). This final period of 2,300 days was taken from Daniel's prophecy (8: 14):

Until two thousand three hundred evenings [and] mornings; and [the] holy place will certainly be brought into its right condition (NWT).

Anybody anticipating that the resolution was to be accurate in its prophecy of woe to the world's religious and political leaders was to be disappointed. In

actual practice, the end of 2,300 pathetic days was manipulated in a fashion unfamiliar to the rest of the legitimization scenario and became an imperative for an in-house cleaning of the organization itself. This period ended on October 15, 1932, and in that month an announcement was made in *The Watch Tower* concerning the discontinuation of the practice of "electing" elders in a democratic process. They argued that a "Theocratic" Society had to be ruled from the top (God) down, not the other way around. From that time on the procedure for delegating responsibility was as follows:

. . . To the end that our service may be orderly, we will select certain ones of our company to perform specific service that may be necessary, including the following, to wit: A service director who shall be nominated by us and confirmed by the Society's executive or manager, and which service director shall be a member of the service committee of the company (*JWDP* 1959: 127).

This single move was declared to be the "cleansing of the sanctuary" or the bringing of the "holy place" into "its right condition" in order for the preaching activity to develop. The target in the end had not been the religious leaders of the world but pockets of resistance and independence within the organization itself. In their own words, "an unclean practice of the world" was

eliminated with the end of the democratic process. Of all the prophetic analogies drawn, this final one stands as a clear example of self-fulfilling prophecy. Power had become absolutely centralized and the precedent set for any further "cleansing of the sanctuary" which might be deemed necessary in the future.

Thus the organization was originally legitimized for the membership and its power established over their personal lives. Once the organization had been entrenched in this fashion it became not only *one* mechanism for salvation; but ~~the~~ "necessary agent" for all who wished to realize the vision of paradise. The *deus ex machina* of the Russell era had been transformed by Rutherford into the *machina ab deo* which persists to this day. The organization as it had existed under Russell had been a mouthpiece designed for the dissemination of novel, theologically revolutionary *ideas* through which people could assess their lives and strive for liberation from an oppressive larger society. With Rutherford, the machinery for growth of the organization was expanded and rationalized, preaching and teaching techniques were standardized, and an efficient system for data collecting was established. Under Knorr, the machinery was refined and began to merge with the image

of Jehovah himself until obedience to the organization had eclipsed in importance the individual's perception of and relationship with Jehovah, as well illustrated in the earlier quotations from the Society's leaders. By 1977 when Frederick Franz officially took the president's chair, God had become imbedded in the corporate structure, as the following diagram published in a 1977 Watchtower illustrates:



Within this configuration, God is no longer *logos*: he is merely a *logo*, an official seal of approval, the Governing Body's cosmic "rubber stamp" for use at its discretion in the quest for "unity at all costs."

CHAPTER FOUR

THE "OFFICIAL VOICE" AND THE MANIPULATION OF THE SYMBOLIC SYSTEM

I

Presenting the Vision in the Watchtower Publications

Jehovah's Witnesses direct their lives in accordance with the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society's basic definition of man, and its vision of his origins, world, present condition, purpose and projected destiny. As an expression of the group's cumulative knowledge of the world and of itself within the world, the Witness vision constitutes the assumptive symbolic paradigms for personal reality through which the individuals within the group *will* their lives in relation to the larger group reality (Ornstein 1973: 65).

According to their expectations of world events prior to Armageddon, world religions (their own excepted) should be in a state of decline, along with economic and military forces. Volcanic eruptions and the spread of war alike herald the advent of Armageddon. Where external events do not show such a pattern of steady deterioration, the mythic history of Jehovah's Witnesses is rich,

diversified, and ambiguous enough to withstand pressures for internal change brought about by unanticipated secular events. Part of this adaptability is due to the organic nature of the culture myth itself. Since its mythic history is future-oriented, with many of its goals as yet unrealized, events of secular history have been used to modify the mythic history. The etic and emic aspects of history enjoy a symbiotic relationship of support and affirmation. As time unfolds, events within the secular history are incorporated into the body of culture myth as "new light" shed on old obscurities, or as revelation of the meaning of past prophecy. To quote H. C. Covington,

If I may be permitted to make an analogy which I think appropriate, it was referred to yesterday by Mr. Franz that we are an organization that sees the truth more and more brightly and clearly as we get nearer the perfect Day of Jehovah, which we are now in and nearer to its completion [*sic*]. My analogy that I would like to make is very much like a man who is travelling in a country and sees mountains far away. At a great distance he cannot see them very clearly, but, as he gets closer and closer to the range of mountains the more able he is to delineate the contour of the mountains and the shape of them and their respective location. So it is with the Scriptures (Transcript: 309. See also *The Watchtower* 1 December 1981: 21, 26).

The power that the Organization has subsumed for itself over the past century presupposes a sophisticated

system for maintaining and sustaining the symbolic vision for the membership and interpreting it in meaningful ways. The onus has thus devolved upon the Organization itself to keep the symbolic corpus alive within the minds of its members. Since the early 1940's, the symbolic superstructure itself has remained essentially stable, new revelations building upon, or marginally modifying, the mythic fabric already in place. "Symbolic management," a primary function of the Organization in terms of its symbolic vision, thus includes reiterating and reaffirming for the community the continued veracity of specific symbols, and the quiet shelving of others considered to be outdated. Some "truths" are maintained; others are allowed to die (*The Watchtower* 1 December 1981: 26-31).

The vast quantities of literature produced by the Society for the purpose of fulfilling the responsibility of keeping the current body of symbol alive for the membership consist necessarily of a repetition of the basic viable symbolic themes. This constant repetition of the current corpus of recognized belief becomes mantric in quality, and the Society's constant re-presentation of the basic goals of the symbol thus becomes for the membership the rhythmic life-breath of *the* Symbol: the shifting corpus of reaffirmed doctrine. The membership soon forgets that part of the Symbol that has been allowed

silently to slough off without comment or apology.

Anything that is not constantly repeated is forgotten in time, and doctrinal memory is definitely not one of the long suits of the membership.

Repetition is only one of several techniques used to manipulate the symbolic vision. The entire corpus of Witness literature is saturated with the peculiar terminology of the group, which (to use Robert Assagioli's terms) provides a formula or "words of power" which enervate the believers' conceptions and beliefs. The "images of power" represented in the illustrations of Watchtower literature -- also uncomfortably repetitious to the objective observer -- serve as a potent secondary source for keeping the symbols alive. And finally, again in Assagioli's terms, the "assuming of physical attitudes," as cultivated by the Witnesses in their Ministry School meetings, becomes a programmed reminder of who the Witnesses are and what they are to achieve (Assagioli 1973: 172-73). The all-pervasive grip of such carefully-regulated symbols was emphasized by Abner Cohen:

. . . Symbols are cognitive, in that they direct the attention of men selectively to certain meanings. They are affective, in that they are never emotionally neutral; they always agitate feelings and sentiments. They are conative, in that they impel men to action. These characteristics determine

the potency of symbols, which can be ranged on a continuum, from the least potent, a mere "sign", to the most potent, a "dominant symbol" (Cohen 1969: 217).

The literature is used both for the transmission of the symbolic vision to the potential converts and for the ongoing indoctrination of and affirmation for the membership. The importance of social control is recognized explicitly by the organization, and the literature gives constant voice to the need for absolute conformity and obedience to its dictates if the symbolic vision is to be achieved. In order to demonstrate the relative importance of theological doctrine and social imperative within the organization, an analysis was made of 144 consecutive issues of *The Watchtower*, commencing with the January 1, 1975 issue and ending with the December 15, 1980 issue. An analysis was also undertaken for the year 1966 in which the original prediction concerning the arrival of Armageddon in 1975 was introduced -- an analysis which included all twenty-four issues for that year (Appendix F).

The Watchtower was chosen since it has the widest circulation of any Witness publication (more than nine million copies per issue) and because it is considered by the Witnesses to be "the official mouthpiece" of Jehovah God through his "Faithful and Discreet Slave"

class, or the Governing Body. As a semi-monthly publication, it is constantly "before" the Witnesses and contains the question and answer material for the "principal meeting of Jehovah's Witnesses," the Sunday *Watchtower* Study, which with the exception of specifically public meetings attracts larger numbers of the membership and "interested" individuals than other meetings. In the Witnesses' own words, "It is at the *Watchtower* study where doctrinal points are established and timely new spiritual truths are provided -- keeping one abreast with the application and fulfilment of Bible prophecy" (January 15, 1966: 44). With specific reference to the social value of the meeting, they add:

A man can learn how to care for his responsibilities within the family circle. He can receive information on how to be a good and wise father, how to keep unity and peace among the members of his family and how to exercise his headship properly. A woman can learn her Christian place, not only in the home, but also in the theocratic organization, and how she can serve God and her family in a pleasing manner. Children are taught proper respect for God and parents as well as receive instruction and discipline, which will contribute to their physical and spiritual growth (44-45).

Each of the articles was categorized according to its dominant theme into one of two categories: doctrine, and social discourse (the term "dominant" is used since

theological descriptions are never completely devoid of social proscriptions or prescriptions for appropriate behaviour needed to achieve specific doctrinal goals, and social instruction is never void of the scriptural references chosen to legitimize its formulation). The social/doctrinal dichotomy was clear for all major *Watchtower* articles published in 1966 when the "prophecy" concerning 1975 was first introduced, and again in 1976 as the Organization once more prepared for major adjustments to the symbolic system. During these two periods, the articles became thematically entwined. As indicated in Table 11 on page 238, immediately after the verbal announcement in June 1966 that 1975 *could* see the accomplishment of Armageddon, the content of the articles began to intermesh in such a fashion that they defied classification into either of the two dominant categories. Note that this did not constitute preparation for Franz' original announcement; it would appear that no relegitimization of the Organization's principles was necessary at the point, as any "new light" revealing details of the approach of Armageddon was bound to be a "crowd pleaser." Only when the Society tried to moderate the effect of its massive injection of social adrenalin did relegitimization become necessary.

TABLE 11

Issue		Doctrinal Articles	Social Articles
January	1	<div>27% Doctrinal Social Mix</div> <div>Major Change in Symbolic System</div>	
	15		
February	1		
	15		
March	1		
	15		
April	1		
	15		
May	1		
	15		
June	1		
	15		
July	1		
	15		
August	1		
	15		
September	1		
	15		
October	1		
	15		
November	1		
	15		
December	1		
	15		

THEMATIC INTEGRATION SURROUNDING
MAJOR ADJUSTMENT TO SYMBOLIC SYSTEM
IN
1966

As the magical moment envisioned for "no later than October, 1975" approached, blatantly social articles dominated the pages of *The Watchtower* as indicated in Tables 12 and 13 on page 240, with 69 percent of the articles dedicated to various social imperatives, leaving only 31 percent of the articles with a doctrinal weighting. This emphasis was even more pointed in the central articles used for study, in which 89 percent were predominantly social in content. Two possible explanations could be advanced for this shift in focus: first, that the Witnesses focussed their community on the necessity of their Organization being in a "clean state" for the final glorious moment; and secondly, that the period under consideration was concurrent with the traumatic decline in health of the president, N. H. Knorr. Given that F. W. Franz had long been in control of official doctrine, the second explanation is not likely; besides, when Armageddon failed to arrive by the end of 1976, the articles abruptly reverted to a balanced configuration of emphasis as demonstrated in Tables 12 and 13.

TABLE 12
Social/Doctrinal Analysis of Watchtower articles for
1975 in Percentages

	% of Articles			% of Articles for Study		
Year 1975	Doc.	Soc.	Comb.	Doc.	Soc.	Comb.
Jan. to Sept.	31	69	0	11	89	0
Oct. to Dec.	50	50	0	46	54	0
TOTAL	36	64	0	20	80	0

TABLE 13
Social/Doctrinal Analysis of Watchtower articles for
1975 in Absolute Numbers

	# of Articles			# of Articles for Study		
Year 1975	Doc.	Soc.	Comb.	Doc.	Soc.	Comb.
Jan. to Sept.	32	71	0	4	33	0
Oct. to Dec.	19	19	0	6	7	0
TOTAL	51	90	0	10	40	0

The Society had been circumspect in printing any announcements concerning the significance of 1975. In contrast to Franz' pointed "suggestions" expressed on the public platform at assemblies throughout 1966, the publication released by the organization at those assemblies was more strictly restrained to the issues of chronology itself:

In this twentieth century an independent study has been carried on that does not blindly follow some traditional chronological calculations of Christendom, and the published timetable resulting from this independent study gives the date of man's creation as 4026 B.C.E. According to this trustworthy Bible chronology six thousand years of man's creation will end in 1975, and the seventh period of a thousand years of human history will begin in the fall of 1975 C.E.

So six thousand years of man's existence on earth will soon be up, yes within this generation So in not many years within our own generation we are reaching what Jehovah God could view as the seventh day of man's existence.

How appropriate it would be for Jehovah God to make of this coming seventh period of a thousand years a sabbath period of rest and release, a great Jubilee sabbath for the proclaiming of liberty throughout the earth to all its inhabitants!

This would be most timely for mankind. It would also be most fitting on God's part, for, remember, mankind has yet ahead of it what the last book of the Holy Bible speaks of as the reign of Jesus Christ over the earth for a thousand years, the millennial reign of Christ

It would not be by mere chance or accident but would be according to the loving purpose of Jehovah God for the reign of Jesus Christ, the "Lord of the sabbath," to run parallel with the seventh millennium of man's existence (LEFSG 1966: 29-30).

This interpretation of Bible prophecy was to have major impact on Jehovah's Witnesses for well over a decade; in fact, as we have seen, the reverberations continue to this day. The trouble was, while the Society wrote of "how appropriate it would be," the individual members (naturally enough) spoke of certainties. The book *Life Everlasting in Freedom of the Sons of God* released on June 25, 1966 in Toronto contained an explicit chronological chart (See Appendix G), the last three entries of which are particularly interesting. Note in particular the "self-fulfilling prophecy" of the release date of the book itself, and the attention given to the district assemblies, which are linked as being equally weighty material to the prospect of World War III and Adam's six thousandth birthday:

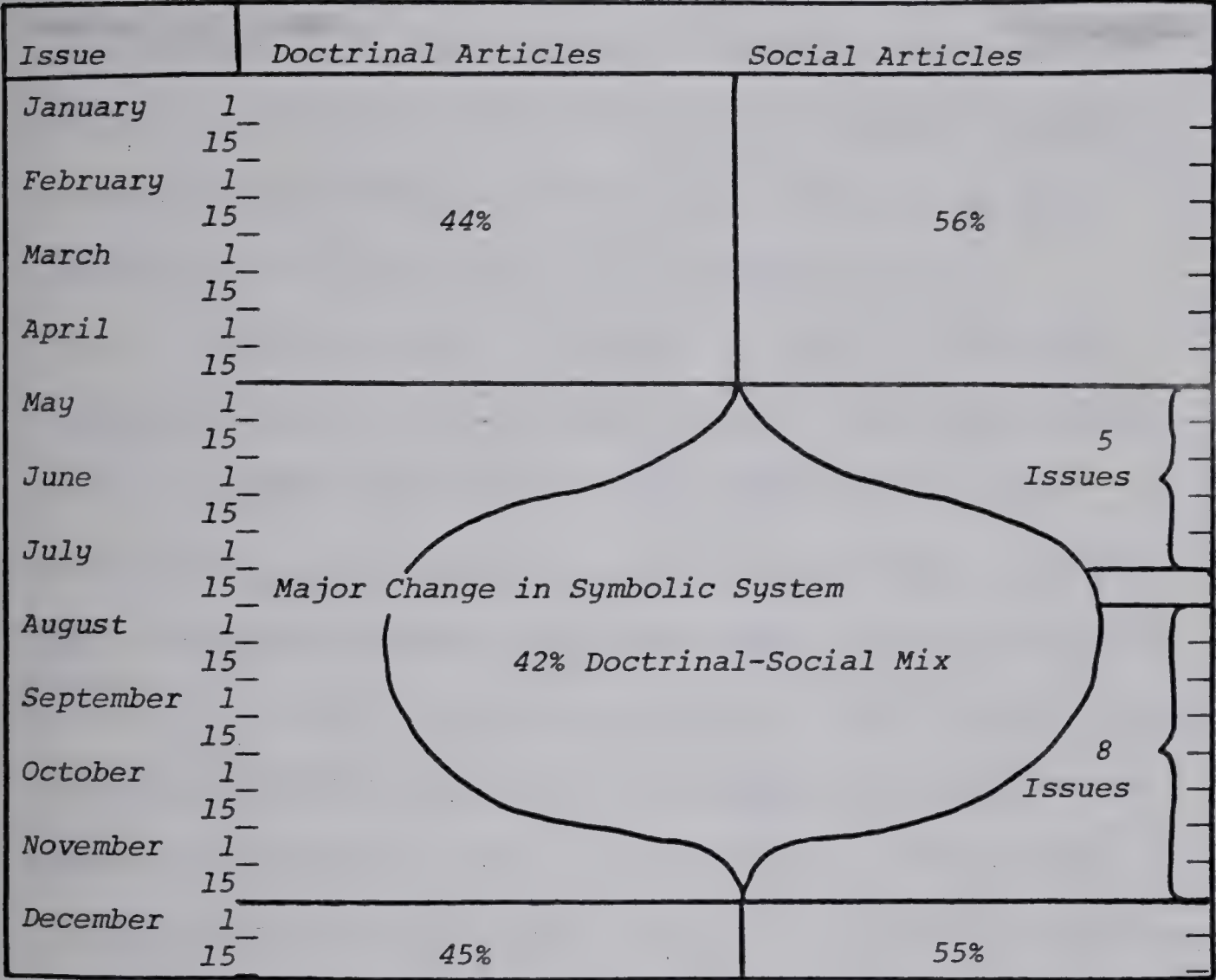
1957	5962	(October) Russia sends up first satellite; causes world to fear
1962	5987	(October 11) Pope John XXIII opens Vatican Council II
1963	5988	Pope John XXIII, at Council, publishes encyclical "Pacem in Terris" in which he praises United Nations Organization. June 3, he dies despite blood transfusions
1964	5989	(May) "Spy satellites" and astronauts increase world tension
1965	5990	(October 4) Pope Paul VI visits United Nations Headquarters in New York city, endorses United Nations and confers with president of U.S.A. December 8, he closes Ecumenical Council Vatican II
1966	5991	Threat of World War III grows more ominous as between "king of the north" and the "king of the south." (Dan. 11: 5-7, 40) Expansion of organization of Jehovah's Christian witnesses continues, and international series of "God's Sons of Liberty" District Assemblies are scheduled to begin on June 22, in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Book <i>Life Everlasting—in Freedom of the Sons of God</i> to be released Saturday, June 25, 1966
1975	6000	End of 6th 1,000-year day of man's existence (in early autumn)
2975	7000	End of 7th 1,000-year day of man's existence (in early autumn)

FIGURE 19

(35)

When Armageddon failed to materialize in 1975, many Witnesses felt confused and betrayed. Six months after the prophetic failure the articles of *The Watchtower* once more entered a pattern of social-doctrinal integration. After three months of careful preparation in which the social dictates of the Society were justified and the major doctrinal goals were portrayed as inextricably interwoven components of salvation, the long-awaited "explanation" for failure was forthcoming. It appeared in the 15 July 1976 *Watchtower* in an article entitled "Keeping A Balanced View of Time," in which the time period between Eve's creation and the end of the sixth creative day was discussed. The article not only provided the "answers" to the failure itself; it also reminded the membership that even though the ultimate goal had not yet been achieved, they had moved towards it (Zygmunt 1981: 155). Only gradually over the following months did the articles once more "unravel" into more explicitly social or doctrinal content -- an unravelling which reached completion with the December 1 issue of 1976. Details of the entire period from January 1, 1975 to December 15, 1976 are contained in Appendix F in which articles for this period are classified with individual annotations. The pattern of enmeshing is illustrated in Table 14 below.

TABLE 14



THEMATIC INTEGRATION SURROUNDING
MAJOR ADJUSTMENT TO SYMBOLIC SYSTEM
IN
1976

The ramifications of failed prophecy did not end in 1976, however. In ensuing months, the Brooklyn Headquarters was deluged with letters of complaint and demands that "the Society frankly admit that it had made a serious mistake" (Penton [unpublished]: 4). Pressure from the grass roots did nothing to move Brooklyn to an admission of oracular error. Rather, as indicated in Tables 15 and 16, over the following years the articles of the "official mouth-piece" became increasingly doctrinal in content. This may be interpreted in one of two ways: first, that as already mentioned doctrinal issues are never devoid of social imperative, and it would appear that the organization was using doctrinal imperatives to keep the membership in line socially; and secondly it was becoming increasingly critical to keep the membership focussed upon the vision, which, if delayed, was nonetheless still the ultimate concern of the entire corpus of believers from Brooklyn to Singapore. The trend towards heavier emphasis on doctrine finally peaked in 1979 as indicated in Tables 15 and 16. This could, in part, have been occasioned by one small if long-awaited crack in the pride of the Brooklyn offices. As James Penton noted: "Ultimately, under the urgings

TABLE 15

Year	% of Articles			% of Articles for Study		
	Doc.	Soc.	Comb.	Doc.	Soc.	Comb.
1966	39	44	17	26	42	32
1975	36	64	0	20	80	0
1976	35	44	21	36	38	26
1977	52	48	0	48	52	0
1978	58	42	0	53	47	0
1979	59	41	0	86	14	0
1980	55	45	0	72	28	0

SOCIAL-DOCTRINAL ANALYSIS
OF *The Watchtower* IN PERCENTAGE

TABLE 16

	# of Articles			# of Articles for Study		
Year	Doc.	Soc.	Comb.	Doc.	Soc.	Comb.
1966	48	54	21	13	21	16
1975	51	90	0	4	33	0
1976	55	67	44	17	18	12
1977	81	74	0	23	25	0
1978	102	87	0	27	24	0
1979	103	65	0	42	7	0
1980	94	78	0	33	13	0

SOCIAL-DOCTRINAL ANALYSIS
OF *The Watchtower* IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS

of a handful of more liberally-minded men at the Watch Tower headquarters, in 1979 an apology to the Witness faithful was finally given at the district assemblies of that year." No direct apology came through the pages of the "official organ"; the closest the Society came to a written rationale appeared in *The Watchtower* of December 1, 1981:

At times explanations given by Jehovah's visible organization have shown adjustments, seemingly to previous points of view. But this has not actually been the case. This might be compared to what is known in navigational circles as "tacking." By maneuvering the sails the sailors can cause a ship to go from right to left, back and forth, but all the time making progress toward their destination in spite of contrary winds. And that goal in view of Jehovah's servants is the "new heavens and a new earth" of God's promise (27).

The doctrinal content of the 1977 to 1979 issues of *The Watchtower* cast yet another perspective on the internal struggle for reaffirmation and the struggle for attainment of the goals. The "doctrines" began to focus more and more heavily upon the theological interpretations of "good behaviour" ranging from *Genesis* through *Revelation*. In retrospect, the Governing Body appears to have responded in the fashion of tribal magicians who, after the failure of a critical ritual, turn upon the collective membership of their society

to ascertain if some small taboo has been broken or a prescribed element of the procedure unwittingly overlooked. Through what developed into an obsession with erotopathological behaviour in the finest details of the members' private lives, they deflected attention away from problems with the more fundamentally theological questions raised by the Society's attempts at palliating the circumstances surrounding 1975. As early as 1974, the Organization redesignated what previously had been mere "*undesirable practices*" to "*disfellowshipable offences*." Not only were the Witnesses intent upon being found in a clean state by Jehovah at the penultimate judgment, the leaders in particular were concerned that any sources of dissention be cleared *before* the reverberations of any possible "failure" could shake the community -- a procedure in keeping with Friedrich Nietzsche's description of "herd behaviour":

I teach: the herd seeks to preserve one type and defends itself on both sides against those who have degenerated from it . . . and those who tower above it (1968: 162).

Before the dust of failed prophecy could settle, the Society would indeed have to deal with "both sides," which, despite their best efforts, eventually emerged with a vengeance.

A period of intensified "type unification" began, as mentioned, in 1973 when smoking and "marital *porneia*" joined the ranks of mortal sin. The shift designed to preserve the community through 1975 -- come what may, salvation or sorrow -- intensified as 1976 dawned on a world yet unpurged. "Fornication," for example, was no longer defined as simply sexual intercourse between consenting unmarried individuals of the opposite sex. Reassessed in light of the nuances of the Greek, *porneia* (literally "harlotry") came to include any "unnatural acts" performed by one marriage partner on the other; wives could charge husbands with *porneia* before congregational elders, and the elders could disfellowship the "guilty" partner and grant permission to the "victim" to get a divorce. As former congregational elder James Penton described the shift,

Married couples sometimes felt constrained to describe the intimacies of their personal, marital relationship to elders who were often both pietistic and totally untrained in dealing with such matters. Sometimes elders and ministerial servants were removed from office and disfellowshipped for committing *porneia* within marriage. Sometimes, too, wives used marital *porneia* as a basis to divorce their husbands, whether validly or not (Penton [unpublished] 25).

This represented a major swing of the social-doctrinal pendulum, in view of the fact that prior to 1973 the

only grounds for a "scriptural divorce" had been adultery with specific implication that adultery could only take place with a member of the opposite sex.

Coupled with the issue of "marital *porneia*" was the Organization's release of the book *Your Youth: Getting the Best Out Of It*. The explicit concerns for sexual behaviour among the unmarried membership included such recommendations as lying on one's side rather than stomach or back as a deterrent to masturbation (42). Of the young people willing to comment on this book, reaction has been one of mild amusement. When asked if parents conducted "Home Bible Studies" as directed by the Society to make sure their children were well-informed of the book's contents, teen-agers responded that their parents had been "too embarrassed."

After 1979, the Society seemed prepared to back off somewhat in the area of bedroom behaviour. The February 15, 1978 *Watchtower* abruptly reversed the position of the Governing Body. James Penton wrote,

Although the Society did acknowledge that it had reassessed the whole matter, and some who had been disfellowshipped for so-called marital *porneia* had their disfellowshipments annulled, there was no general apology from Brooklyn for having taught admittedly false doctrines for six years (Penton [unpublished] 26-27).

Similarly, the Governing Body took the view in 1967 that organ transplants, up to then permissible, were a form of human cannibalism; potential recipients of cornea transplants, for example, were urged to wait for the "New Order," when all such ailments would be cured by God. But in 1980 the leadership reversed itself by saying that, although organ transplants *could* be considered "cannibalistic," "the congregational judicial committee would not take disciplinary action if someone accepted an organ transplant" (*The Watchtower* 15 March 1980: 31). One can only speculate as to the number of Witnesses who, because of a temporary concern with cannibalism, lived a life with a serious handicap or displayed their faithfulness to the end in accordance with prevailing doctrinal views of the Governing Body. Although the written tradition does not specify that such individuals have a greater chance of acquiring Jehovah's approval, those who die under trying circumstances are assumed to be most likely to receive an early resurrection, receiving, by the Grace of God, intact bodies in the New World. Today, Witnesses with similar afflictions have the option of taking advantage of medical knowledge in that arena: it has become "a matter for conscientious decision by each one of Jehovah's Witnesses" (31).

II

Presenting the Vision Graphically

Within the medium of printed communication, not only are the Witnesses able to utilize "words of power" to reaffirm their vision; they also receive an important portion of their message in visual representations. As Assagioli noted:

Images constitute another means through which affirmations can be focused; their dynamic potency is well known. One can use the image, or vision, of what is wanted *as if it were already accomplished* (the "ideal model" of the personality and the technique of "acting as if" used in psycho-synthesis are examples of this). Or one can use an image that is the *symbol* of what we will to realize (Assagioli 1973: 173).

For the Witnesses, the overriding images are those of community -- community as it should be now, in the future, and in the context of reaching for the future, juxtaposed to images of the "evil" they must avoid. One of the most frequently repeated images within this context is that of the "group" or "community" of believers. Note in the two following illustrations the care which has been taken in presenting the "great crowd" to portray a racially varied and integrated group. (See Figure 20).



(PLPR 1958: 219).

FIGURE 20



(The Watchtower 15 October, 1975: 611).

The racial representations are an important visual manipulation of the symbols for a multinational corporation in the business of selling Jehovah to the nations of the world. Actually this signifies a major advance within the Organization of the Witnesses, instituted by Knorr when he became president. According to Timothy White, Knorr had an international outlook and "took more literally [than Rutherford] the Biblical idea that the preaching was to be to 'all nations'" (White 1968: 337). Knorr took his expansion program seriously and fought throughout his life for legal freedom for Jehovah's Witnesses in countries from the Soviet Union to Malawi. This was indeed a significant departure from the policies of Rutherford described by Herbert Stroup:

Once in the history of the movement the Society's leader specifically asked colored Witnesses not to apply for positions as Pioneers: 'The reason is that as far as we are able to judge, colored people have less education than whites -- many of them quite insufficient to permit them to profit by reading our literature'. Our conclusion, therefore, is based upon the supposition that reading matter distributed to a colored congregation would be more than half wasted, and a very small percentage indeed likely to yield good results'. *The Watchtower* [sic] August 1928 (Stroup 1945: 155).

It is a measure of the business acumen and fundamental internationalism of the third president that he was able to report to his membership in 1966 increases of up to

forty percent in some of the 200 countries where the Witnesses preach; but in places where segregation is common segregated congregations are still permitted by the organization lest integration should "stumble some" and thus slow the conversion process of new members.

The following illustration (Figure 21) in particular captures the compact quality of the social unit and typifies the conscious image of the Witnesses of themselves within the congregation in particular and the organization in general. There is literally *no room* in the consciousness of the Christian looking forward to salvation for anyone or anything but the other members of Jehovah's organization, and even then, they are together specifically in the sense of looking forward to a common goal.

FIGURE 21



(The Watchtower 15 November 1975: 685).

Nor does the image of the "great crowd" end within the context of the present world. Rather it is projected forward into the vision of the "New World" which the Witnesses believe awaits the faithful after Armageddon as illustrated in Figure 22 below.

FIGURE 22



(PLPR 1958: 241).

The paradise which the Witnesses believe awaits the "faithful dead" would be void of pain and death in literal agreement with the words of *Isaiah* 11: 9, "They will not do any harm or cause any ruin in all my holy mountain . . . ," a vision visually captured in Figure 23 below:



(*The Watchtower* 15 April, 1975: 240).

Thus paradise too is to be teeming with the "great crowd" of Jehovah's people -- a future for which they yearn as a reward for faithful service now.

No assumption can be made that these images of paradise are not well-planned. In the book *Aid to Bible Understanding*, calculations concerning the nature of life in the "New World" were carefully set out. The description, in part, reads:

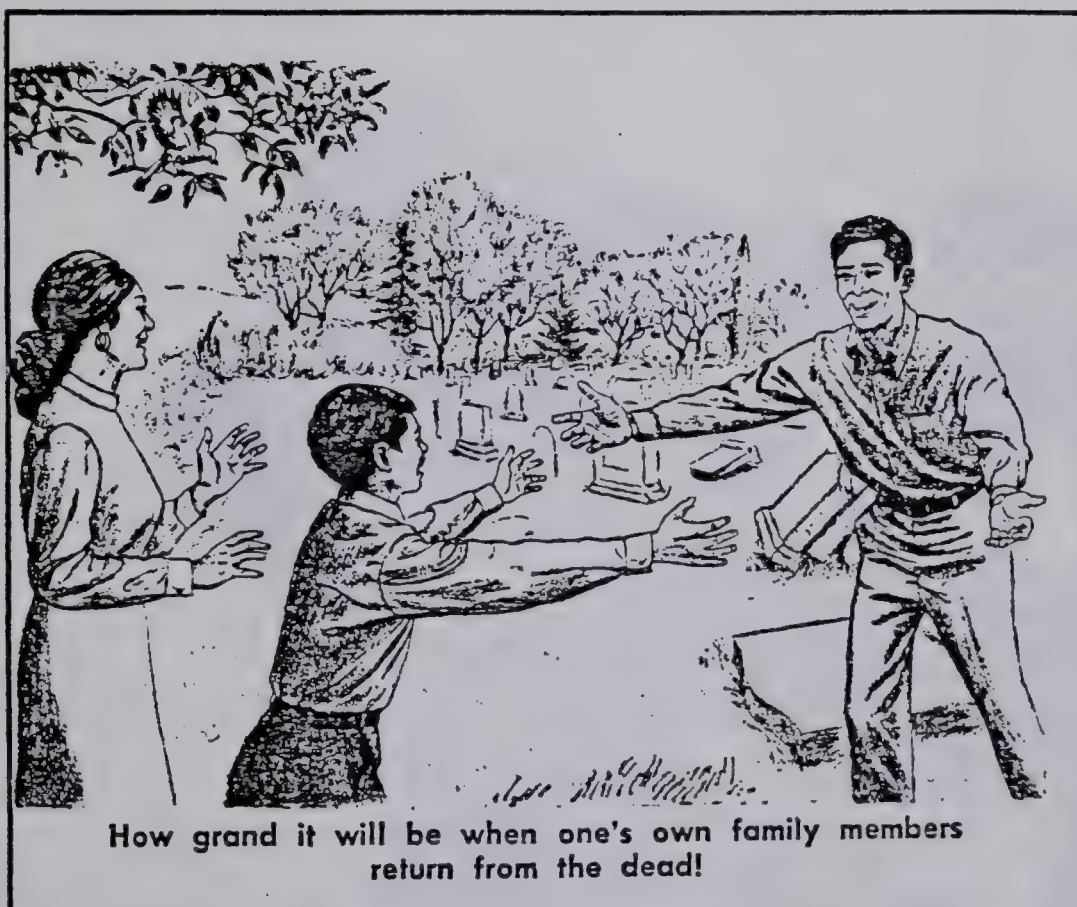
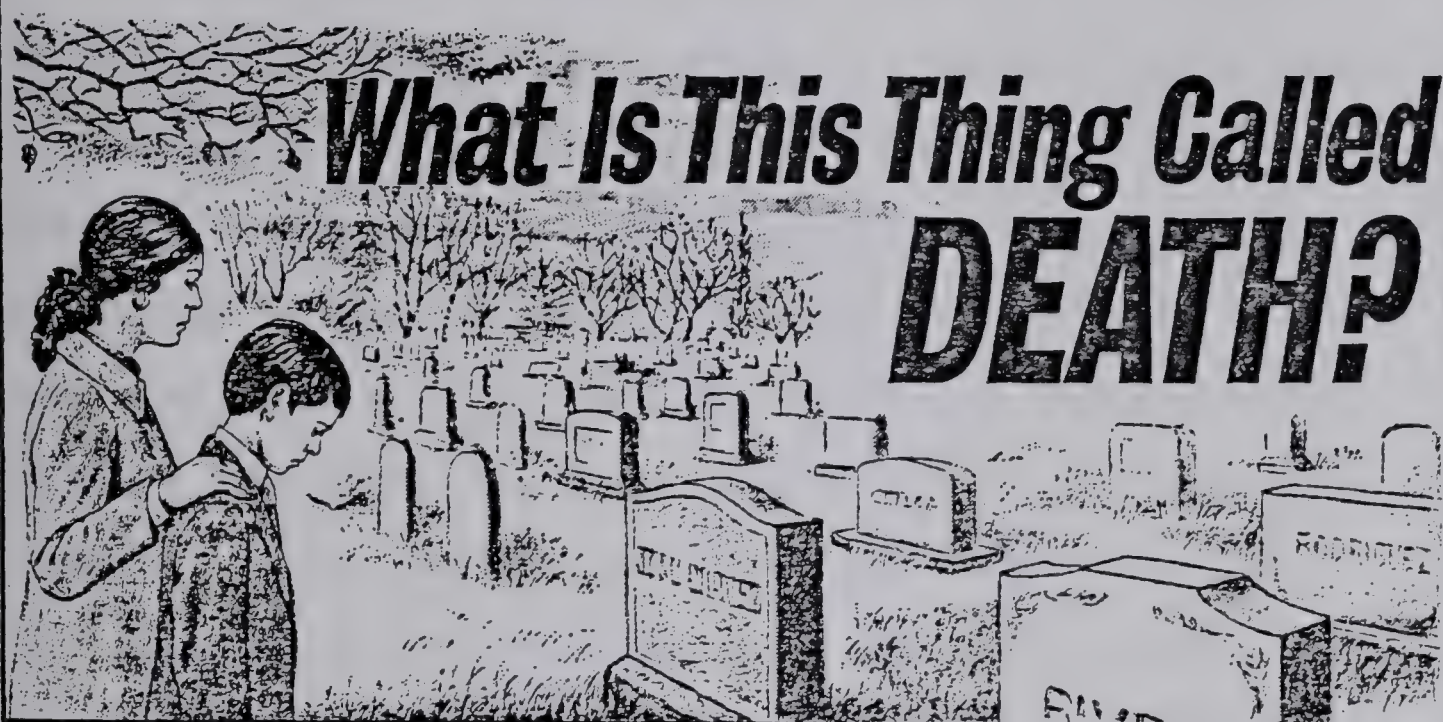
A very liberal estimate of the number of persons that have lived on earth is twenty billion Not all of these . . . will receive a resurrection, but even assuming that they did, there would be no problem as to living space and food for them. The land surface of the earth at present is about 57,000,000 square miles . . . or more than 36,000,000,000 acres Even allowing half of that to be set aside for other uses, there would be more than half an acre for each person One-half acre . . . will actually provide much more than enough food for one person

Let us assume that those who compose the "great crowd" of righteous persons who "come out of the great tribulation" on this system of things alive . . . number one million (about . . . $1/3500$ [one thirty-five hundredth] of earth's present population). Then if, after allowing, say, one hundred years spent in their training and "subduing" a portion of the earth . . . God purposes to bring back three percent of this number, this would mean that each newly arrived person would be looked after by thirty-three trained ones. Since a yearly increase of three percent, compounded, doubles the number about every twenty-four years, the entire twenty billion

could be resurrected before five hundred years of Christ's thousand-year reign had elapsed (ABU 1971: 1400).

For most Witnesses this vision of a populated paradise is reassuring and looked forward to with joy and confidence, not as a hypothetical proposition but as an apodeictic certainty. Their focus of consciousness does not rest entirely within the image of the "great crowd", in which they sense only security, but also within the collective hope of life in the New World without pain and death. The promise held out to those who survive Armageddon is explicitly that of never dying. Many Witnesses are so totally involved with this imagery that they thoroughly scour the idea of personal death from their minds, and then, when finally faced with death, they are totally unprepared for life's most traumatic "rite of passage." Still, when death does threaten there is comfort in the "promise" of the resurrection and again visual imagery captures the goal toward which the collective will is directed -- an image "brought to life" in the following illustration. (See Figure 24). The "reality" of this hope is underscored by numerous articles discussing the basic theology of the resurrection as well as occasional emotional articles of a personal nature. (See, for example, *Awake!* article in Appendix H).

FIGURE 24



(Awake! 22 October, 1976: 9).

Yearnings for paradise must, however, be tempered by the exigencies of the contemporary world within which the Witnesses live. The very fact that their vision demands the destruction of this world presupposes the necessity of defining what is wrong with a world in such imminent danger. Thus the "goodness" of the new world must be juxtaposed with the "evil" of the existing one. Ugliness and entrapment are constant themes applied to the images of the existing world and these themes are graphically portrayed as in Figures 25 and 26 below:

FIGURE 25

(*The Watchtower*
[cover] 1 June 1979.)



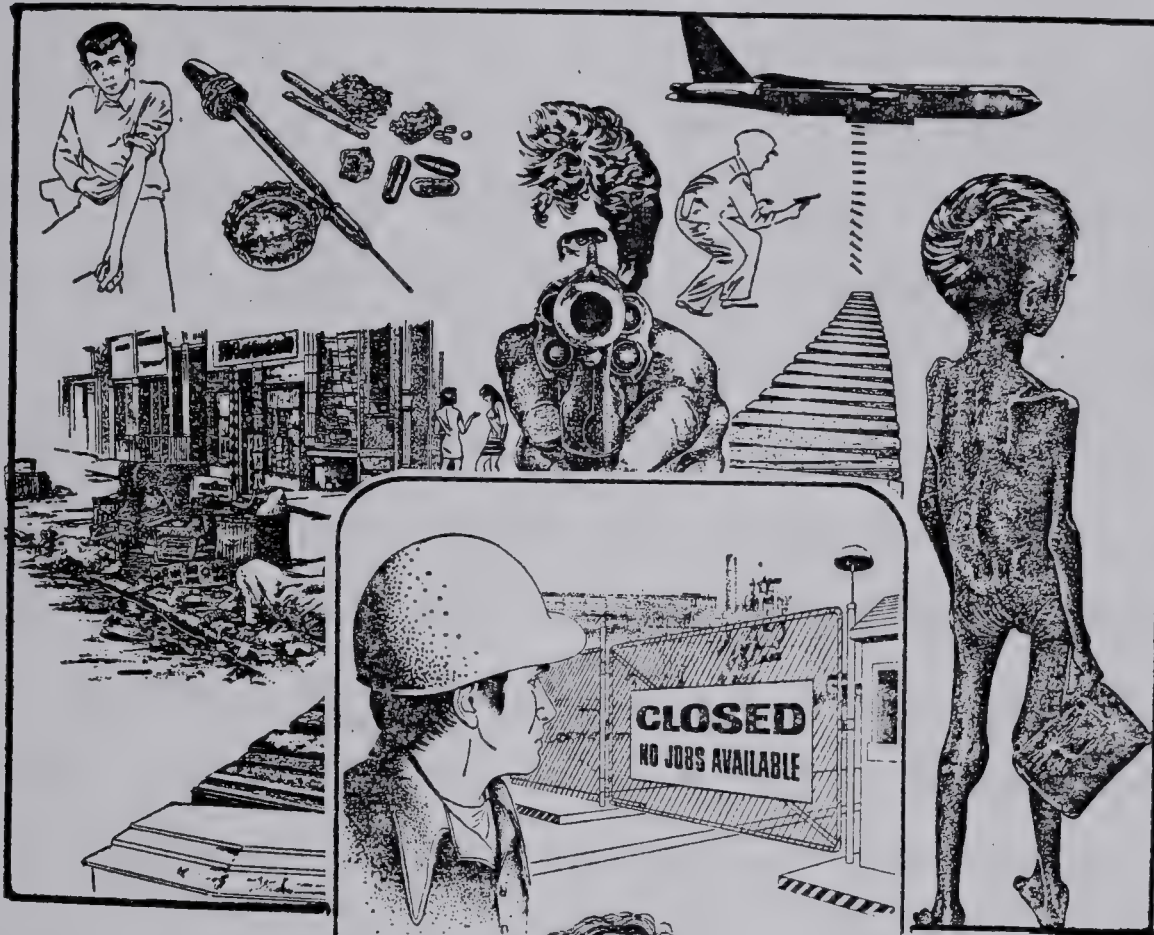
FIGURE 26



Wrong beliefs hold many people in a "web" of fear

To be caught in the web of "this world" is to partake of a bleak future in which only disease, war, crime and death persist as forms of oppression. Care is taken to impress the hopelessness of "this world" upon the reader as indicated in Figure 27 on the following page.

The cause of such misery, the Witnesses believe, is Satan the Devil, most frequently represented as the dragon, the arch-enemy of God who attacks with particular ferocity the "bride of Christ" or the 144,000 chosen



(The Watchtower 15
July 1978: 3.)



(Awake! 8 April
1975: 3.)

FIGURE
27

anointed ones of Jehovah, or as the Great Beast bearing the Harlot [Babylon] on its back -- images presented on page 18 above. The *human* agents of the beast and its rider are believed to be the hated leaders of all other world religions. As Figure 28 indicates, these leaders, who are held by the Witnesses to be partly responsible for the ills of the world, are slated for destruction, along with their followers, during the battle of Armageddon (or immediately prior to it). The projected image of the fate of religious leaders is portrayed proleptically, in Assagiolio's terms "*as if it were already accomplished.*" Even as the divine stick of retribution metes out judgment, the alluring carrot of paradise entices the Witnesses to remain faithful to the Organization.

To the outside observer, these images of evil and rampant destruction expected to occur at Armageddon may appear so distasteful as to suggest that the Witnesses themselves must surely fear this impending holocaust. In fact they pray for it fervently and look forward to it with joy as represented in Figure 29 which captures them, as it were, at the peak of the inferno.

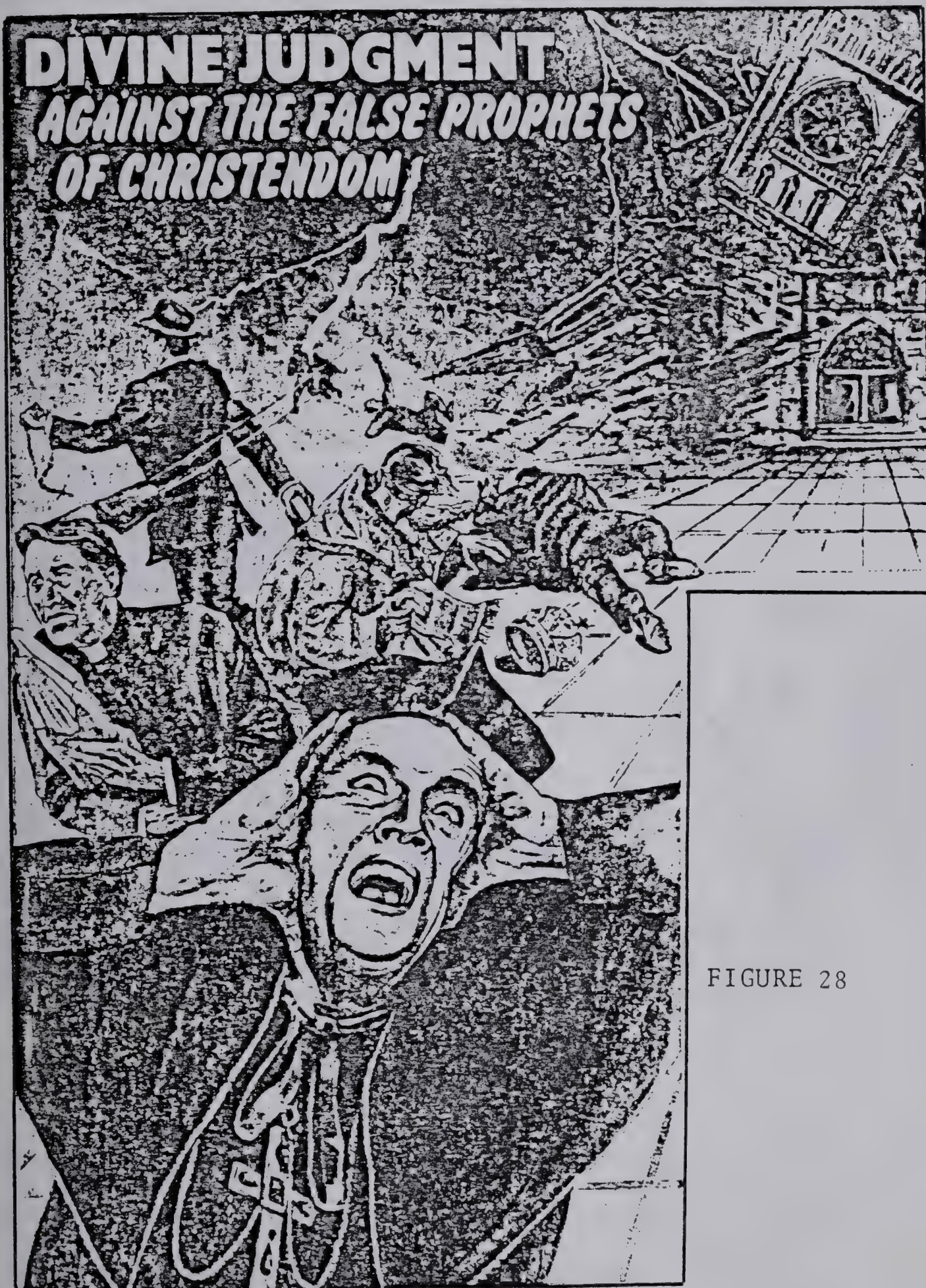


FIGURE 28

(The Watchtower 1 November, 1979: 23).

FIGURE 29



(*The Watchtower* 1 December 1979: 25).

The Witnesses' gleeful anticipation of the arrival of their apocalyptic vision of destruction has also been acted out in dramatic form, before a combined

audience of hundreds of thousands of members. Two men walk across the stage. One is pushing a wheelbarrow heaped with clean bones. The second stoops to pick up an object on the floor, centre stage. He holds up the wallet for all to see, saying, "Why this was John Doe's wallet." "Too bad about John," the first man responds, "If he had gone to the Kingdom Hall for the meeting that night when Armageddon came, instead of to the bowling alley, this might not have happened." The scenario ends with the men wheeling the barrow off stage left, with the punchline: "It certainly *paid* to remain faithful to the end, *didn't* it?"

III

Presenting the Symbol to the Child

Within the rigorously controlled social world of the Witnesses, parents are held personally responsible for bringing their children up in the "discipline and mental-regulating of Jehovah." The purpose of the regulation of the child is to encourage him to accept the vision of the Organization as a whole, and the status the parents will continue to enjoy within that world depends largely upon their success as parents. The August 1st, 1975 *Watchtower* indicated:

. . . An elder must be a man presiding over his own household in a fine manner, having children in subjection, namely, "If indeed any man does not know how to preside over his own household, how will he care for God's congregation?" (1 Tim. 3: 5) (*Watchtower*: 469).

Accordingly, children are taken to the weekly round of meetings from the time of birth and begin to accompany parents from door-to-door as soon as they may be trusted to behave, often as early as five or six years of age.

From the time a child becomes aware of the proceedings around him, he is fed on the imagery of destruction and paradise which looms ahead, always

"just around the corner," and in order to avoid the former and attain the latter, children are "admonished" to obey their parents and the Society:

Children, be obedient to your parents in union with [the] Lord, for this is righteous: "Honor your father and [your] mother: which is the first command with a promise: "That it may go well with you and you may endure a long time on the earth"(Ephesians 6: 1-3).

Throughout the pages of the Witnesses' literature, parents are reminded of the proverb which advises: "Train up a boy according to the way for him; even when he grows old he will not turn aside from it"(Proverbs 22: 6). Children in turn are urged to obey their parents in all things. With reference to the book of Proverbs, the April 8, 1981 *Watchtower* noted its value as a training manual for the young:

If they are to turn out well, they are urged to 'listen to,' 'measure up,' "not forget," "pay attention [to]," "observe" and not "forsake" the commandments and discipline of parents. Over *four times as much* counsel is given to children as is given to parents in just this one book of the Bible! (12).

To ensure that their children benefit from biblical ordinances, parents are directed to study the "Bible" (more specifically and accurately, the Society's literature) with their children, and within that literature, safety is depicted only within the context of "Bible study," as captured in Figure 30 on page 271.



Bible study will help you to "take up the large shield of faith, with which you will be able to quench all the wicked one's burning missiles." Eph. 6:16

(The Watchtower 1 August, 1976: 467).

Much of the rationale for such intensive involvement within the context of the Organization lies in the Witnesses' concern for "worldly" contamination; as the often-quoted scripture warns: "Bad associations spoil useful habits"(1 *Corinthians* 15: 33). Great care is taken to isolate the child as much as possible from "the world," and where such isolation is impossible, as in the compulsory education system of most countries, the value of the academic components of education is denigrated by the parents. This is especially the case where "science" is involved, for the Witnesses, in step with the temper of the late Nineteenth Century, interpret "science" as the "natural enemy" of "religion." For example, in the December 8, 1976, *Awake!*, in an article entitled "How Much Confidence Should You Have In Science?" the writers "blame" science for everything from World War II to thalidomide babies (4-6). They then embark on an attack of evolution, dredging up the Piltdown man to tar with the brush of "fraud" everything from Neanderthal finds to cave art(7-9). Science is "all bad"; the Bible is "all good." This relationship of opposition perceived to obtain between science and God is graphically portrayed in Figure 31. on page 273.

Choosing the Best Way



(*The Watchtower* 15
March 1980: 16.)

FIGURE 31



(*Awake!* 8 December
1976: 5.)

Products of science took more than
50,000,000 lives in World War II

The threat of Armageddon "just around the corner" also serves to keep the child from taking school too seriously. Parents make a point of stating often that "Susy won't make it into primary school before Armageddon comes," "Susy won't make it into junior high before Armageddon comes," "Susy won't make it into high school before Armageddon comes," "Susy won't graduate before Armageddon comes," "Susy won't get married before Armageddon comes," "Susy won't have children before Armageddon comes," "Susy's little Jim won't make it into primary school "

On and on it goes. At least four generations of Witnesses who were themselves "never going to make it into primary school," have "married off" their children before the advent of Armageddon. Anyone who does aspire to post-secondary training in spite of Armageddon's imminence is subjected to accusations of "self-aggrandisement," "pride," and "thinking he's *too good for us.*"

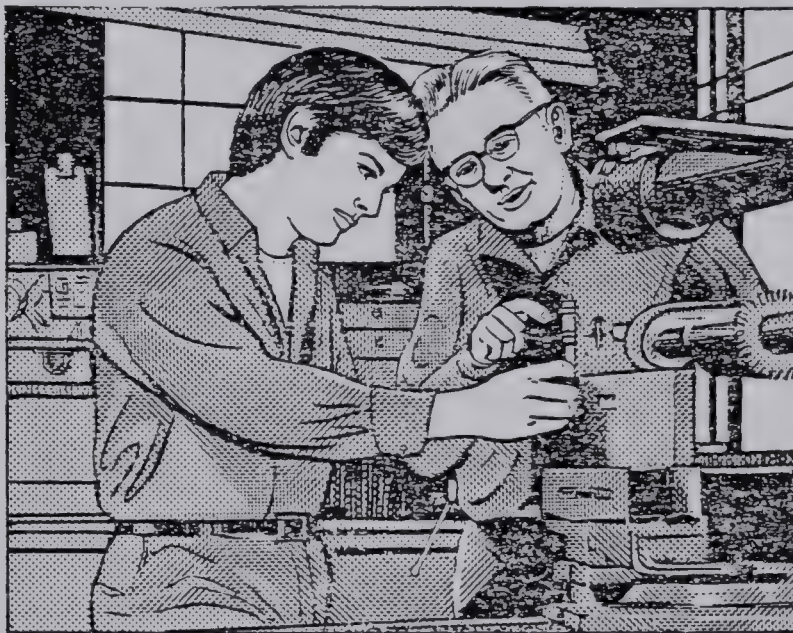
When children do enter the school system, care is taken to direct them away from academic interests, especially science. Only practical training is "valued" -- and then only because such training can lead to a job with which the individual can support himself in his volunteer ministry. (See Figure 32 on page 275).

GETTING NEEDED TRAINING

When young, Jesus was trained as a carpenter by his foster-father, Joseph. (Mark 6:3) So, today, Christian youths submit themselves profitably to a period of basic education. This means accepting secular education that will equip them for supporting themselves during adult years.

Christians have often found it advisable to take advantage of standard secular training available where they live. In America a high-school education is frequently of practical value.

Besides basic studies, such as mathematics, history and the language of the country where one resides, many schools offer courses in fields such as the use of tools and machinery, carpentry, electricity, auto mechanics, and printing. Girls can pursue domestic studies, typing and other secretarial skills, opportunities as medical assistants or other interesting and practical fields of work now open to women.



Practical instruction can prepare you for later life

(YYGB 1976: 81).

THINKING ABOUT THE FUTURE

Most young people reach a turning point during the closing years of high school. Many options open up to them at that time.

At such a turning point, it is well for youngsters to decide what they will do with regard to serving Jehovah. The closing years of such education furnish a fine opportunity for learning skills that can lead to employment that permits plenty of time for preaching and disciple-making—the work that Jesus did.—Matt. 24:14; 28:19, 20.

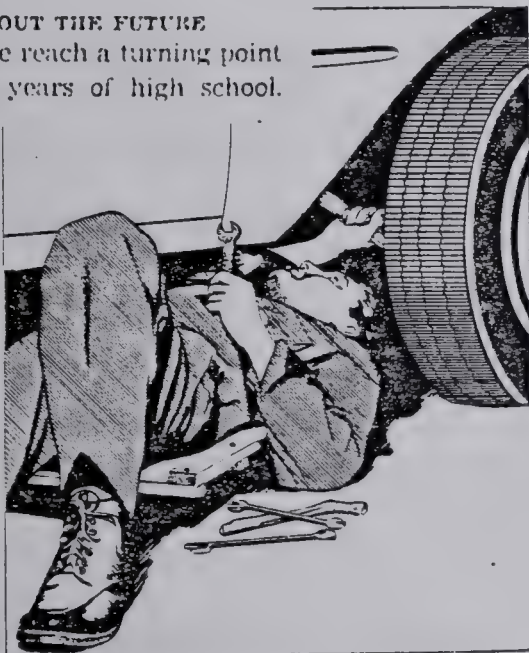


FIGURE 32

(The Watchtower 1 April, 1979: 10-11).

In addition to the pejorative attitudes toward school expressed in the home, other situations are created to ensure that the child will remain a misfit in relation to the larger cultural world. Being isolated from their "worldly" peers by organizational prohibitions against the singing of anthems, saluting of flags, participation in "pagan" Christmas, Halloween and Valentine's Day parties, running for office, and other activities, generally makes of the Witness child a lonely individual; "the world" becomes a most unpleasant and alien place. As a "misfit" in the broader society, the child *must* seek companionship within his family and religious community. Children are told why they may not participate in such activities, and may ask for clarification of such explanations; yet there is no room for debate: if the child indicates a desire to argue he is cut short with a stern, "Don't you ever question Jehovah's will if you want to live in the new world!"

One fundamental problem in rearing children within the anomalous belief and social system of Jehovah's Witnesses is that a "culture-gap" often exists between the child and the parent in terms of perspective, especially if the adult came to the group as an adult

and hence has no childhood memories of his own to help him understand the child's feelings of "disjointedness" occasioned by his peculiar beliefs and customs. The classic example of such a communication gap appears time and time again in the writings of people who were raised as Witnesses: Christmas. To the Witnesses, Christmas is a blasphemous perversion of a pagan rite:

Today, scholars generally acknowledge that the date December 25 is NOT Jesus Christ's birth date. Not until the fourth century C.E. was any record made of the observation of a Christmas festival. By that time the church had gained great secular power under Emperor Constantine. Sun worship was particularly strong in Rome. The worshipers of the Persian sun-god Mithra celebrated December 25 as the "birthday of the invincible sun."

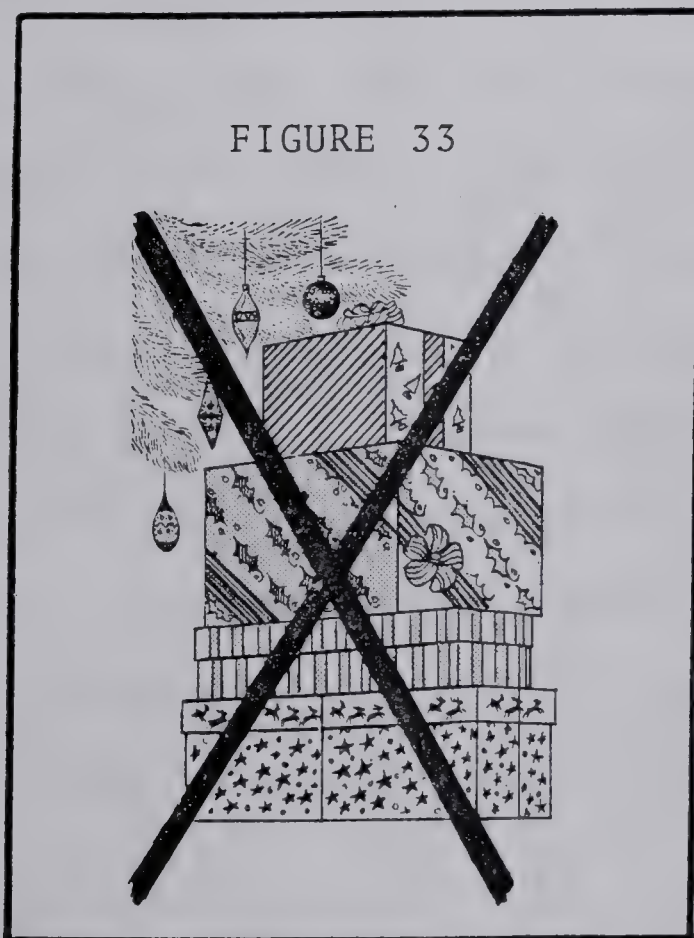
... It was the absorbing of a pagan ritual into a celebration in pretended honor of God and Christ (*The Watchtower* 15 December 1977: 740).

Still, for the child, Christmas is a time of joy and anticipation, of parties and gifts. Most Witnesses dismiss Christmas with a cursory "They never miss it anyway," and expect their children to face the absence of the celebration ascetically in absolute silence, in obedience to the Society's dictates. Joe Hewitt's description of "social disjointedness" captures most poignantly the situation of Witness children in a non-Witness world:

It was getting close to Christmas. I had already found a shiny metal toy dump truck and other toys hidden in the closet, but hadn't let on that I knew about them. Mama, without preliminaries, opened the closet door, took out our gifts and gave them to my sister Rose and me. Gordon our baby brother, was too young to understand.

"We won't have any Christmas," Mama said, "so here are your presents early." I was shocked. It didn't seem right somehow (Hewitt 1979: 13).

Most Witness parents assume that the presents are all that figure in the minds of children anyway and their yearning after Christmas is nothing more than an expression of greed. Note Figure 33 below -- an illustration in the December 15th, 1975 issue of *The Watchtower* (739).



Hewitt remarked:

From the time in Arkansas when our Christmas gifts were given early, we never observed Christmas. We were told that it was a pagan holiday, as were all holidays. I always dreaded Christmas because the anticipation and joy the other children felt was so conspicuously absent in our home, and because of the embarrassment that always followed in school when the teacher asked everyone to tell the class what they got for Christmas (Hewitt 1979: 25).

To help counter the feeling of isolation, the Witness literature portrays Christmas as a time of excess, disappointment and heartbreak as illustrated in Figures 34 and 35. Internally they offer no genuine alternative celebration. Their calendar is singularly unmarked by special events save the "Memorial" which is conducted in the same basic manner as all other meetings with the notable augmentation of an austere and pietistic atmosphere. Within a world where deaths, funerals, marriages, *pregnancies*, births, and circumcisions demand "alertness" lest the devil should enter, one can hardly anticipate the condoning of occasions for the expression of unmitigated jollity. The child of the Witness does not "belong to 'this world'": he *cannot* belong to it! (USHH 1978: 100).

FIGURE 34



(Awake! 8 December 1979: 8)

FIGURE 35



(The Watchtower 15 December 1977: 741)

Still, many children do survive the problems of Christmas, and scores of other similar crises, as they grow up, eventually finding themselves "dedicating" their lives to Jehovah and his Organization in the act of baptism. Yet it is also among those brought into the Organization through parental conversion or birth that much of the defection occurs. The adult convert has made his choice against a backdrop of "worldly dissatisfaction," and yearns within his own imagination for paradise only. The imagination of the child who has never experienced "this world" is, however, not so easily bridled or contained. Psychological tests which have been conducted on adult Witnesses show a singularity in the pattern of adult thinking which is both rigid and compartmentalized, as one might expect in a rigid, fundamentalist group. However, in a test conducted on children in Australia, Witness children scored in the higher percentiles in creativity studies. Harrison commented on this apparent contradiction:

On the face of it, this seems difficult to reconcile with the fact that college students from authoritarian fundamentalist religions have been found, in psychological testing, to have "constricted and rigid cognitive and perceptual functioning on projective and intelligence test, lower scholastic achievement, lack of creative responsibility with conventional routine aesthetic attitudes . . . and generally poorer overall adjustment and achievement in comparison with students in

matched groups" [D. Mansell Pattison, Z&L, p. 424]. On reflection, however, the Australian statistics yield to another interpretation. The children tested were 12 years old. Sexuality rigorously repressed in puberty conduces to a strongly colored fantasy life. The imagination of very young Witnesses is fueled and fired by the rich imagery of destruction and creation with which they live (Harrison 1978: 97).¹

Much of the imagery to which Harrison alludes is contained within the vision of the destruction of the old world and the reconstruction of the new, augmented at every turn by images of the innate evil of the existing world. The child is expected to relish the apocalyptic advent of Armageddon while fearing the day-to-day world in which he lives -- a world inhabited by the devil as agent of false religion, science, politics and death. And many of these children do grow up in anticipation of God's great war as they struggle to avoid the vicissitudes of the devil transmogrified into the personage of the "soul-catcher" or "grim reaper". The full impact of the imagery of the symbols

1. This test was reported in the *Australian Journal of Personality*, March 1973. The total sample consisted of 394 children, four of whom were Witnesses. "The girl who gained the highest total score on the Torrance [creativity] tests, and the girl who was the only child, male or female, to be included in the top 20 percent of all five performance measures, were both Jehovah's Witnesses" (Harrison 1978: 97).

fed into the growing consciousness of the child, year after year, can only be captured in the actual pages of the Society's publications. For example, *From Paradise Lost to Paradise Regained* was released in 1958 for the express purpose of home Bible study with children.

Page 208 (Figure 36 below) shows buildings toppling on little children. The text reads:

Soul-chilling terror will spread through the masses of people so that they will lose control of themselves; they will begin killing one another But their selfish fight to live will be all in vain. Those who escape being killed by their neighbours will be destroyed by God's heavenly armies.

Christ's angels will smite all the opposers of God's kingdom and his kingdom witnesses with a terrible destruction. A flesh-eating plague will destroy many. Says Jehovah: "Their flesh shall rot while they are still on their feet, their eyes shall rot in their sockets, and their tongues shall rot in their mouths." . . . Eaten up will be the tongues of those who scoffed and laughed at the warning of Armageddon! Eaten up will be the eyes of those who refused to see the sign of the "time of the end"! Eaten up will be the flesh of those who would not learn that the living and true God is named Jehovah! Eaten up while they stand on their feet!

. . . Closed will be all avenues of escape! Wherever they flee God will find them and destroy them

Dead bodies will be everywhere -- from end to end of the earth Ungathered, unwept for, the bodies will be like so much fertilizer

. . . To all surviving flesh the dead bodies will be disgusting, hateful things. Worms will not stop swarming over the millions of bodies until the last body is eaten up (208-211).

FIGURE 36

pain as a woman in travail: they shall look in amazement one at another; their faces shall be faces of flame."—Isaiah 13:6-8, AS.

²⁵ Soul-chilling terror will spread through the masses of people so that they will lose control of themselves; they will begin killing one another. "On that day a great panic from the LORD [Jehovah] shall fall on them, so that each will lay hold on the hand of his fellow, and the hand of the one will be raised against the hand of the other." (Zechariah 14:13, RS) Then "every man's sword shall be against his brother." (Ezekiel 38:21, AS) But their selfish fight to live will be all in vain. Those who escape being killed by their neighbors will be destroyed by God's heavenly armies.

²⁶ Christ's angels will smite all the opposers of God's kingdom and his kingdom witnesses with a terrible destruction. A flesh-eating plague will destroy

many. Says Jehovah: "Their flesh shall rot while they are still on their feet, their eyes shall rot in their sockets, and their tongues shall rot in their mouths." (Zechariah 14:12, RS) Eaten up will be the tongues of those who scoffed and laughed at the warning of Armageddon! Eaten up

25. In their fear, what will people do to one another? 26. What kind of plague will Jehovah bring upon those who fight against his people?



FIGURE 37



will be the eyes of those who refused to see the sign of the "time of the end"! Eaten up will be the flesh of those who would not learn that the living and true God is named Jehovah! Eaten up while they stand on their feet!



²⁷ Where can people hide from this destruction coming from God? Nowhere! Jehovah says: "Not one of them shall escape. Though they dig into Sheol, from there shall my hand take them; though they climb up to heaven, from there I will bring them down. Though they hide themselves on the top of [Mount] Carmel, from there I will search out and take them; and though they hide from my sight at the bottom of the sea, there I will command the

27. When Armageddon begins, will there be any way for people to escape destruction?

These salient passages were "required reading" for a whole generation of juvenile Jehovah's Witnesses, who were instructed to pray for these events to occur. Obviously these "teachings" led to a feeling of alienation from "worldly" friends and classmates whose destiny was so graphically delineated; more importantly, they led to a sense of nightmarish confusion. Where, in all this, was "Gentle Jesus, meek and mild"?

Your Youth: Getting the Best Out Of It was prepared for an older group, those entering puberty to those in their early twenties who were contemplating marriage. This work, released in 1976, was an apologia to the youth of the movement for the highly restrictive moral code dictated for them. All forms of socialization with "the world" were roundly condemned and emphasis was placed upon sex as an activity for married couples only. The book is rich in its own form of imagery:

Because [God's law] is so clear and forceful it helps us to keep our senses, bolsters our moral courage and, most important, it helps us to learn to hate the wrong course. Do you actually hate the course of sexual immorality? . . . If not, then isn't that course worth hating? Surely you would not want to make yourself like a public towel on which any man or woman can wipe his or her hands by means of immorality (138).



FIGURE 38

The image of the "dirty public towel" stands out because one of the public talks at the 1958 international assembly in New York announced that, in the opinion of the Governing Body, that is precisely what any female Witness becomes if she "associates" with "worldly" boys.

It is within this context of explosive and graphic imagery of wholesale destruction and vile contamination that every individual must assess his own role and worth within the organization. This is especially critical for those who grow from childhood within this symbolic system. Often they are expected to make their final "dedication" in the act of baptism at the age of twelve or thirteen. The contract is as binding on them as on those who enter as adults and take the vow, as it were, in middle age. That Jesus was thirty before committing himself in the form of baptism does not seem to bother the Witnesses. Nor does the fact that the Witnesses claim that emotional maturity comes comparatively later than the optimum baptism age:

Right now you are in a transition time, a period of change. Your body, for example, is moving toward physical maturity. But it doesn't reach that stage until sometime between the ages of twenty and twenty-three. It can take still longer for you to reach emotional maturity. Some of the changes taking place in you could make you feel confused and unsure of yourself (YYGB 1976: 6).

On the one hand the Society encourages Witness children to postpone marital commitment until "more mature" but on the other there is definite pressure to co-opt young people into baptism before they reach the age of majority and leave home, thus coming out from under the wing of parental control only after commitment to societal control.

"The Youth Book," as it is affectionately referred to by the Witnesses, dedicates a whole chapter to "Masturbation and Homosexuality":

From a physical standpoint, the majority of doctors say that occasional masturbation is harmless. Like most psychiatrists, they say that damage comes only if the practitioner has feelings of guilt that cause mental and emotional disturbance, these, in turn, producing physical upset. But doctors and psychiatrists are imperfect humans, subject to error, and their views change (36).

Masturbation, the Society suggests, is "giving in to, and being dominated by, 'sexual appetite,'" and is an expression of "loose conduct," "uncleanness," "covetousness" and "greediness."

How? Well, it is an expression of desiring something that does not rightly belong to one. God has provided marriage as the arrangement in which to satisfy sexual desires. But the person who practices masturbation is, in effect, trying to obtain that satisfaction without paying the price (37).

With specific reference to the Witnesses' obsession with onanistic behaviour, James Penton noted, "Such stress was placed on the evils of masturbation that great numbers of young witnesses, who were encouraged to delay marriage, developed thoroughgoing sin complexes" (Penton [unpublished]: 25). Under these circumstances, morality is no longer an instinctive desire for beauty and order in its primal, esthetic sense; nor is it the unconscious submission to a unity of purpose -- the "group-soul" -- of a community of kindred spirits. It is the psychologically coercive application of rules of logic and convention within a highly "collectivized" group consciousness (Ouspensky [1920] 1970: 308). Morality, in this instance, partitions rather than co-ordinates the experiences of life.

IV

Manipulating the Symbols

That Armageddon is Jehovah's war, and that the Witnesses believe they are Jehovah's chosen people, is underscored in *The New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures*, prepared and published by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society. This version of the Bible was produced after years of translation from polyglot versions and dictionaries.¹ As a result, *The New World Translation* has a decided bias in favour of the Witnesses' concept of natural order. In particular, the name "Jehovah" has been inserted in the place of "God" or "Lord." The name has been restored to the Hebrew Scriptures, in the preface to which the Witnesses declare, "The tetragrammaton [YHWH] occurs, 6,161 times in the original-language text . . . "(ABU 1971: 885, 888); and in the Christian Greek Scriptures, the current edition uses the name "Jehovah" 237 times.

1. Two charts containing the relevant manuscripts used in preparing this version of the Bible are contained in Appendix I. See also "Loyally Advocating the Word of God" in *The Watchtower* 15 March 1982, pp. 20 - 27).

In assessing the net result of *The New World Translation*, Alan Rogerson noted, "It reads like a legal document; in striving to be exact the translators have made the text sound clumsy and sometimes ludicrous" (Rogerson 1969: 166). For example, note the variation in the translation of *Ephesians* 6: 4 as set out in Table 17 below. (All three renditions were taken from Bibles printed by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society).

VERSION	TEXT
<i>King James</i> [1942]	And, ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.
<i>New World</i> [1950] [1961]	And you fathers, do not be irritating your children, but go on bringing them up in the discipline and authoritative advice of Jehovah.
<i>New World</i> [1981]	And you, fathers, do not be irritating your children, but go on bringing them up in the discipline and mental-regulating of Jehovah.

TABLE 17
COMPARATIVE TRANSLATIONS
OF *EPHESIANS* 6: 4

The *King James Bible* was used by the Witnesses prior to the release of their own version, which began with the Greek Scriptures in 1950. The progression from "nurture and admonition" through "discipline and authoritative advice" to "discipline and mental regulating" reflects the increasingly tight regulation of the membership over the years.

The more specifically *doctrinal* shifts of Jehovah's Witnesses away from more traditional forms of Protestant theology can best be described metaphorically in terms of the jingle "for want of a nail" Much of Witness doctrine hangs precisely on the placing of a comma, the insertion of parenthesis, and the adding of an indefinite article. Examples of three crucial "alterations" to the traditional Bible text are to be found at Luke 23: 43, Revelation 20: 5, and John 1: 1, as set out in Table 18 on page 294.

The significance of the change at Luke 23: 43 relates to the Witnesses' view of the earthly resurrection, which is regarded as a *future* event -- even the resurrection to heaven not commencing until this century. Therefore, the Witnesses argue, the thief hanging on the stake beside Jesus could not have been promised that he would be with Christ in Paradise on Nisan 14, A.D. 33.

King James <u>compare</u> New World Translation	
Luke 23: 43	
And Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To day shalt thou be with me in paradise.	And he said to him: "Truly I tell you today, You will be with me in Paradise."
Revelation 20: 5	
But the rest of the dead did not live again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.	(The rest of the dead did not come to life until the thousand years were ended.) This is the first resurrection.
John 1: 1	
In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.	In [the] beginning the Word was, and the Word was with God, and the Word was a god.

TABLE 18

COMPARATIVE TRANSLATIONS
OF
THREE KEY SCRIPTURES

By placing the comma after "today" instead of before it, the implication is that Jesus was merely telling the thief that someday they would be together in paradise, not that particular day. The insertion of brackets around *Revelation 20: 5* is another example of arbitrary determinism: there is nothing in the Greek manuscripts to indicate parenthesis, but the scripture does not "fit in" comfortably with the Witnesses' vision of the unfolding of events. They believe that the events concerning the resurrection described in verses immediately following *Revelation 20: 5* will be fulfilled not *after* the millennium, but during it. Parenthesizing the maverick scripture allows them to justify ignoring it -- as their literature invariably does. And finally, the Witnesses' rendering of "a god" in John 1: 1 is used to refute the conventional Trinitarian religions which hold that God and Christ are one. The Witnesses insert "a" and lower the case on "G," thus allowing them to claim that, although the Word (i.e., Christ) was regarded as "godlike," he was not actually God himself.

The New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures is used both in door-to-door preaching and at the Witnesses' five weekly meetings. At these meetings,

the Witnesses do not study the Bible itself, but rather the Society's publications "supported" by individual scriptures from the Bible. (The purpose of each of these meetings is set out in Table 19 on the following page, which was prepared from an article entitled "The Value of Right Association Through Congregational Meetings" contained in the January 15, 1966 *Watchtower*).

While extensive use is made of the Organization's written material during these meetings, few Witnesses seem to enjoy reading, and only the most educated and zealous sit down to read a new release from cover to cover. Most wait to "cover the material" at the Kingdom Hall or at the weekly Book Study, which may be held in a private home to keep the groups small. Up until 1977, at the Book Study as well as the Watchtower Study, the "conductor" asked the questions which are printed at the bottom of each page, and the other members of the group would raise their hands to answer; if called upon to answer a question, they would read one or two sentences out of the paragraph numbered to match the question. This procedure was discontinued in 1977 because not enough people seemed willing to answer -- a situation which resulted in slow, boring,

TABLE 19

PROGRAMME OF WEEKLY MEETINGS

PUBLIC TALK

"These interesting Bible lectures are one of the best methods of helping those who are studying the Bible in their homes with Jehovah's witnesses to become acquainted with Jehovah's great purpose for mankind and to associate with God's organization regularly."

THE WATCHTOWER STUDY

This is where "spiritual truths are provided . . . keeping one abreast with the application and fulfillment of Bible prophecy." It is also where men, women and children learn their Christian roles.

THE KINGDOM MINISTRY SCHOOL

The Theocratic Ministry School is "designed for the purpose of teaching and equipping Jehovah's witnesses to preach the good news." And "unlike with most schools, there are no graduates, for the course is a lifelong one for young and old, male and female."

THE SERVICE MEETING

"The service meeting . . . give[s] Jehovah's witnesses practical instructions that will help them to become better qualified ministers and more efficient in carrying on their house to house ministry." This is done through talks, demonstrations, question and answer parts, interviews and discussions between two or more persons.

THE BOOK STUDY

Small groups meet, usually in private homes of members. "The textbook is usually one of the latest Bible-study aids These studies make clear the light on Bible prophecies and the prophetic patterns needed to be understood at this time" (*The Watchtower* 15 January, 1966: 45-46).

and embarrassing meetings. Procedural changes were formally announced in the February 1, 1977 issue of *The Watchtower*. The entire announcement is set out below to emphasize the problem the Organization's leaders perceived themselves to have with their study format. It is also quoted at length because it captures the condescending tone of much of their literature:

Elders who preside at the weekly *Watchtower* study, as well as those who conduct the congregation book studies, are anxious to teach in the most effective and helpful way. (Rom. 12:8; 2 Tim. 4: 2) Moreover, all in the congregation desire to make the most of opportunities for taking in spiritual nourishment so that they may attain to "accurate knowledge and full discernment" of the truth -- Phil. 1:9.

With this in mind, we recommend to all congregations the following order of study: (1) Read the paragraph in *The Watchtower* (or other publication); (2) Read the question thereon; (3) Call on those raising their hands for answers, discussing fully the paragraph and supporting scriptures.

There should be a number of advantages in reading the paragraphs before they are discussed. This will quickly refresh the minds of all who have studied over the lesson in advance, and in the event some have not been able to do this previous to the meeting, the reading will at least familiarize them with the material before it is discussed. Everyone will be encouraged to concentrate on the reading, rather than look ahead for the answer in the next paragraph. Those who are shy, or who are slow in organizing their thoughts, will be able to prepare better to put their words together and so gain confidence to raise their hands. There should be freer participation and fuller discussion of the finer details of the study, with emphasis on the application of key scriptures before passing

on to the reading of the next paragraph.

This new arrangement should be a blessing to all of God's people, as they seek to be filled with the accurate knowledge of his will in order to walk worthily of Jehovah."

-- Col. 1: 9, 10 (96).

Under this format, "studying" a book may take up to a year of weekly, one-hour meetings. Most of the "hard-cover" publications range in length from 180 to 300 pages and could be read and understood by the average undergraduate student in a matter of hours. As a result of this prolonged "examination" of Jehovah's "progressive light," the Witnesses are left with the impression that Jehovah's "Truth" is very profound indeed, an impression that stems more from the approach than from the theology. Despite the Organization's attempts at sparking enthusiasm and promoting fuller participation in the meetings, the situation has continued to deteriorate, resulting in adjustments to the format of study material itself. It would appear that the Organization concluded that the paragraph-by-paragraph and sentence-by-sentence dissection of their material was too challenging for the masses to grasp. In 1979 they released *Commentary on the Book of James*, a work currently used as material for the short talks of the Ministry School. As illustrated on the following page, they examine the book of "James" not a verse at a time, but a word or a phrase at a time.

Commentary
on The Letter of James

CHAPTER 1

1 James, a slave of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ, to the twelve tribes that are scattered about: Greetings!

1 James

The Christian Greek Scriptures mention four persons by this name: (1) The father of the faithful apostle Judas. (Luke 6:16; Acts 1:13) (2) The brother of the apostle John. (Matt. 10:2) (3) The apostle who was the son of Alphaeus. (Matt.

10:3) (4) The son of Joseph and Mary and half brother of Jesus. (Mark 6:3; Gal. 1:19) The writer of The Letter of James was evidently not the father of the apostle Judas (not Iscariot), as there is no record that Judas' father even became a disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ or was alive at this time. The brother of the apostle John is ruled out, since he was executed in the early days of the Christian congregation, about 44 C.E. (Acts 12:1, 2) Since the writer of the letter did not refer to himself as an apostle, evidently he was not the son of Alphaeus. This leaves only James, the half brother of Jesus, as the writer of this letter. It is noteworthy that Jude (Judas), also a half brother of Jesus, identifies himself as "a brother of James," and in his letter refers

11

12

James 1:1
to the apostles as "they," excluding himself. (Jude 1, 17, 18) This provides additional confirmation that the writer James was not one of the 12 apostles, but "the brother of the Lord."—Gal. 1:19; Mark 6:3.

a slave of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ

Like his brother Jude, James does not capitalize on his fleshly relationship with the Son of God but humbly refers to himself as a mere servant or slave of God and of his Lord, Master or Owner Jesus Christ. (Jude 1) With his precious blood, Jesus Christ has purchased his followers and is, therefore, their Owner. (1 Cor. 7:23; 2 Pet. 2:1; Jude 4) He is their King and Bridegroom to whom they are subject as their Lord. (Col. 1:13; Eph. 5:22-24) Nevertheless, though Jesus Christ is his Lord, the Christian is also a slave of God. James properly begins his letter acknowledging his accountability to Jehovah God and to Jesus Christ, for as a slave to both he was under obligation to carry out what they required of him.

to the twelve tribes

These are not the 12 tribes of literal Israel, as those tribes of natural Israelites were not the "brothers" of James who were "holding the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ." (Compare James 1:2; 2:1, 5.) While on earth, Jesus Christ had indicated that the Jews as a national entity would be rejected. He said that "the kingdom of God would be taken away from them and be given to a nation producing its fruits." (Matt. 21:43) That "nation" proved to be spiritual Israel, the real "Israel of God," composed of Christianized Jews and believing non-Jews. (Gal. 6:16) Since natural Israel consisted of 12 tribes, it logically follows that spiritual Israel would be spoken of as having 12 tribes to show that it was a complete spiritual nation, with no part or tribe missing. There is

James 1:1

13

no numerical imbalance within spiritual Israel, for the Bible book of Revelation symbolically reveals that an equal number—12,000—is sealed from every tribe. (Rev. 7:4-8) A member of this spiritual Israel must have the circumcision of the heart and a faith like that of Abraham. This is what makes a real Israelite or Jew. (Rom. 2:29; 4:16, 17; 9:6-8; Gal. 3:7, 29; 4:21-31; Phil. 3:3) that are scattered about

Spiritual Israelites were dispersed throughout the then known world. Initially, after persecution broke out against the Jerusalem congregation, the disciples, with the exception of the apostles, were scattered. (Acts 8:1) In time, through the activity of the scattered disciples and that of evangelizers, congregations sprang up in many areas. That is why Peter could use the same phrase as did James, writing "to the temporary residents scattered about in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, to the ones chosen." (1 Pet. 1:1)

Greetings!

Literally, the Greek expression here means "to be rejoicing," the absolute infinitive of the verb in the sense of an imperative. This salutation, in effect, expressed the thought "May you have joy" or "May things be well with you." It commonly appears in extant non-Biblical papyrus letters. Also, the military commander Claudius Lysias used the expression in his letter to Governor Felix. (Acts 23:26) The Greek term does not appear as a salutation in any of the Bible letters of the apostles. (The apostle John did write about saying a "greeting," using the same infinitive form, "to be rejoicing." [2 John 10, 11]) It may be noted that the letter setting forth the decision on circumcision contained this salutation. (Acts 15:23) Since the disciple James suggested the

Thus each speaker at the Ministry School Meeting presents a five- to seven-minute elucidation of one or two phrases. (See Figure 39 on page 300).

To make matters worse, member involvement in the question-and-answer meetings continues to decline. In some congregations visited recently, the study conductor often had to answer the questions himself, while in others the elders refrained from answering when others were willing, thus restricting their involvement to situations in which answers are obviously not going to come from anyone else. In recent months the general membership has been asked to come forward with explanations for their apparent reluctance to participate -- even to offer *advice* if they feel they have any ideas which might alleviate the problem. To date this has proven unproductive.

Several salient factors must be taken into account when attempting to assess the significance of the declining participation of the membership in the verbal exchange at meetings designed to reaffirm for them the reality of their symbolic world. First, it must be noted that the grinding routine of five hours of meetings held on a weekly basis, recycling what is a rather limited number of major themes with which the

attentive Witness of two years' standing will have become thoroughly familiar, may be an effective mechanism for actively engaging the individual during the initial process of internalization of the symbology and corollary social expectations; but with prolonged use, its repetitious nature takes on the function of group incantation -- a life long mantra which places the mind in a passive mental state from which the Witnesses rarely have opportunity to shift given the extremely limited number of truly novel stimuli to which they are exposed.

It is also important to note that within the traditional format, very little of the convoluted detail of doctrinal argumentation "sinks in," as it were. This is evidenced at meetings when members are asked to find certain scriptures in their own Bibles so that they can "follow along" with the reading of a particular verse. Many of the Witnesses, including some of thirty and forty years' standing, have trouble finding even the most frequently quoted scriptures. After finding the appropriate page myself, I have often sat listening to the prolonged rustle of onion skin as others search to and fro for a specific chapter or verse. Two possible explanations exist for this

phenomenon. First, one cannot sense a feeling of genuine attentiveness as the Witnesses act out their ritual "analysis" of Jehovah's "inspiring Truth."

Doctrinal expertise is not demanded of the Witnesses -- only obedience to the dictates of the Organization.

Their physical presence at the meeting alone is an indication of obedience, as is their willingness to engage in "preaching." In fact, the selling or "placing" of the Organization's literature, coupled with their compliance with other social doctrine, is all that is, in the final analysis, *required*. A second explanation for the Witnesses' general lack of theological agility resides in their "shreds and patches" approach to the Bible itself. Their basic theological or symbolic treatises are "supported" by scriptural quotations taken thither and yon from the entire Bible with eclectic abandon. Very few Witnesses have a concept of the "order" of the Bible; they do not read it except with reference to "Bible study aids." This fragmentary approach to the Bible has been a major criticism of the Witnesses for decades. While I do not intend to challenge doctrinal issues within this work, it is

important to note that so long as the Witnesses' vision is based on an eclectic configuration of Biblical motifs, a disjointed approach to the Bible is essential. Any suggestion that genuine debate (or even open discussion not contained by the strictures of a given answer to a given question) might spark enthusiasm, must be rejected. Indeed, the enthusiasm for apostasy endemic in the Brooklyn headquarters at present is a direct result of individuals "reading" their Bibles (Watters 1981: *passim*).

To demonstrate the necessity of the Witnesses' approach to their own theology both in formulation and presentation, one illustration shall suffice -- *Revelation* 20. To obviate any suggestion that the point I intend to raise may rest on a variation from one version of the Bible to another, I have included a reproduction of this critical passage in Figure 40 on page 305 from the 1981 edition of *The New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures*. Since this chapter of *Revelation* describes the millennial reign of Christ which for the Witnesses is the very crux of their future hope, it is one of the most frequently quoted biblical texts.

FIGURE 40

REVELATION 19:18-20:15

that fly in midheaven: "Come here, be gathered together to the great evening meal of God, 18 that you may eat the fleshy parts of kings and the fleshy parts of military commanders and the fleshy parts of strong men and the fleshy parts of horses and of those seated upon them, and the fleshy parts of all, of freemen as well as of slaves and of small ones and great."

19 And I saw the wild beast and the kings of the earth and their armies gathered together to wage the war with the one seated on the horse and with his army. 20 And the wild beast was caught, and along with it the false prophet that performed in front of it the signs with which he misled those who received the mark of the wild beast and those who render worship to its image. While still alive, they both were hurled into the fiery lake that burns with sulphur. 21 But the rest were killed off with the long sword of the one seated on the horse, which [sword] proceeded out of his mouth. And all the birds were filled from the fleshy parts of them.

20 And I saw an angel coming down out of heaven with the key of the abyss and a great chain in his hand. 2 And he seized the dragon, the original serpent, who is the Devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years. 3 And he hurled him into the abyss and shut [it] and sealed [it] over him, that he might not mislead the nations anymore until the thousand years were ended. After these things he must be let loose for a little while.

4 And I saw thrones, and there were those who sat down on them, and power of judging was given them. Yes, I saw the souls of those executed with the ax for the witness they bore to Jesus and for speaking about God, and those who had wor- shipped neither the wild beast nor its image and who had not received the mark upon their forehead and upon their hand. And they came to life

Satan abyssed. 1,000 years and 1234

and ruled as kings with the Christ for a thousand years. 5 (The rest of the dead did not come to life until the thousand years were ended.) This is the first resurrection. 6 Happy and holy is anyone having part in the first resurrection; over these the second death has no au- thority, but they will be priests of God and of the Christ, and will rule as kings with him for the thousand years.

7 Now as soon as the thousand years have been ended, Satan will be let loose out of his prison, 8 and he will go out to mislead those nations in the four corners of the earth, Gog and Ma'gog, to gather them together for the war. The number of these is as the sand of the sea. 9 And they advanced over the breadth of the earth and encircled the camp of the holy ones and the beloved city. But fire came down out of heaven and devoured them. 10 And the Devil who was misleading them was hurled into the lake of fire and sulphur, where both the wild beast and the false prophet [already were]; and they will be tormented day and night forever and ever.

11 And I saw a great white throne and the one seated on it. From before him the earth and the heaven fled away, and no place was found for them. 12 And I saw the dead, the great and the small, standing before the throne, and scrolls were opened. But another scroll was opened; it is the scroll of life. And the dead were judged out of those things written in the scrolls according to their deeds. 13 And the sea gave up those dead in it, and death and Ha'des gave up those dead in them, and they were judged individually according to their deeds. 14 And death and Ha'des were hurled into the lake of fire. This means the second death, the lake of fire. 15 Furthermore, whoever was not found written in the book of life was hurled into the lake of fire.

1889 New heaven, earth. New Jerusalem

21 And I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the former heaven and the former earth had passed away, and the sea is no more. 2 I saw also the holy city, New Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God and prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. 3 With that I heard a loud voice from the throne say: "Look! The Lord of God is with mankind, and he will reside with them, and they will be his peoples. And God himself will be with them. 4 And he will wipe out every tear from their eyes, and death will be no more, neither will mourning nor outcry nor pain be anymore. The former things have passed away."

5 And the One seated on the throne said: "Look! I am making all things new." Also, he says: "Write, because these words are faithful and true." 6 And he said to me: "They have come to pass! I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end. To anyone thirsting I will give from the fountain of the water of life free. 7 Anyone conquering will inherit these things, and I shall be his God and he will be my son. 8 But as for the cowards and those without faith and those who are dis- gusting in their filth and murderers and fornicators and those practicing spiritism and idolaters and all the liars, their portion will be in the lake that burns with fire and sul- phur. This means the second death."

9 And there came one of the sev- en angels who had the seven bowls which were full of the seven last plagues, and he spoke with me and said: "Come here, I will show you the bride, the Lamb's wife." 10 So he carried me away in [the power of] the spirit to a great and lofty mountain, and he showed me the holy city Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God. 11 And having the glory of God, its radi- ance was like a most precious stone, as a jasper stone shining crystal- clear. 12 It had a great and lofty wall and had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names

REVELATION 21:1-27

15 Now the one who was speak- ing with me was holding as a mea- sure a golden reed, that he might measure the city and its gates and its wall. 16 And the city lies four- square, and its length is as great as its breadth. And he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs; its length and breadth and height are equal. 17 Also, he mea- sured its wall, one hundred and for- ty-four cubits, according to a man's measure, at the same time an an- gel's. 18 Now the structure of its wall was jasper, and the city was pure gold like clear glass. 19 The foundations of the city's wall were adorned with every sort of pre- cious stone: the first foundation was jasper, the second sapphire, the third chal- ced'o-ny, the fourth em-erald, 20 the fifth sar'do-nyx, the sixth sardius, the seventh chrys- o-lite, the eighth beryl, the ninth topaz, the tenth chrys'o-prase, the eleventh hyacinth, the twelfth am-ethyst. 21 Also, the twelve gates were twelve pearls; each one of the gates was made of one pearl. And the broad way of the city was pure gold, as transparent glass.

22 And I did not see a temple in it, for Jehovah God the Almighty is its temple, also the Lamb [is]. 23 And the city has no need of the sun nor of the moon to shine upon it, for the glory of God lighted it up, and its lamp was the Lamb. 24 And the nations will walk by means of its light, and the kings of the earth will bring their glory into it. 25 And its gates will not be closed at all by day, for night will not exist there. 26 And they will bring the glory and the honor of the nations into it. 27 But any-

Revelation 19, the Witnesses believe, describes the Battle of Armageddon that is "just around the corner"; *Revelation* 20 begins with a description of events anticipated to occur immediately after Armageddon and to continue throughout the post-Armageddon Millennium. After Satan is "abyssed" (verses 1 - 3) the 144,000 "Anointed Ones" are described as ruling with Christ from heaven (verses 4 and 6). The Witnesses believe that the next event to occur will be the physical resurrection to earth, for which they refer to verse thirteen: "And the sea gave up those dead in it, and death and Hades gave up those dead in them." This resurrection, the Witnesses speculate, will probably occur in the first half of the Millennium. Towards the end of the Millennial reign, any rebellious ones would be gathered together in the battle of Gog and Magog for the final destruction of wickedness and the source of wickedness, Satan the Devil -- events described in verses 7 - 10. The sequence of events described in *Revelation* 20 are not regarded by the Witnesses as being sequential, even though the chapter reads as if these events occur in chronological order. Furthermore, verse 5, which reads, "The rest of the dead did not come to life until the thousand years were ended," is put in parenthesis in the *New World Translation*, as if it had nothing whatsoever to do with the rest of the chapter.

The Watchtower Bible and Tract Society's treatment of *Revelation* 20 is perhaps the most graphic example of manipulation of the symbol by the "Official Voice." If this critical chapter of the Bible were to be read in entirety and in context -- within the Witness worldview -- the resurrection of the dead would come, not after Armageddon as the Governing Body insists it must, but after the end of the 1,000-year reign of Christ. By arbitrarily parenthesizing verse 5, the translators of the *New World Translation* simply remove a passage that for the Witnesses is problematic. Rarely is verse 5 quoted in Watchtower literature, and then with great caution and with a tone of apology (ABU 1971: 1064; *The Watchtower* 15 April 1981: 23). Other verses in the chapter are used frequently to reaffirm the doctrine of the earthly resurrection immediately following Armageddon.

If the Witnesses themselves are indoctrinated through publications from a young age, how do they retain a measure of credibility with the larger community? How is the symbol presented in the conversion process? At what point does one become recognized as a Jehovah's Witness? How do the Witnesses enforce their social and doctrinal imperatives on their membership in the process of conversion? These questions are the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE POWER OF THE SYMBOL IN COMMUNICATION AND COMMUNITY

I

Communication of the Symbol in the Conversion Process

The nonecstatic, noncathartic quality of conversion as it applies to Jehovah's Witnesses has been dealt with previously by many scholars. One of the most succinct descriptions was offered by J. A.

Beckford:

First and foremost we must report the virtual absence of anything which closely resembles the phenomenon of religious conversion as it is customarily understood. Jehovah's Witness converts certainly experience no sudden conviction that they have miraculously received God's grace nor that they have attained an immediate assurance of salvation. In fact, very few Witnesses can isolate a particular moment in time as a decisive turning point in their religious or spiritual development: Certainly none could remember having an overwhelming religious experience (Beckford 1975: 190).

For many, the conversion is a smooth transition from a state of doctrinal ignorance of another Christian group into one of relative enlightenment accompanied by a feeling of having come to a "knowledge of 'the Truth'."

For some, this is heightened by an awareness that their own feelings concerning what is perceived to be wrong with other religions has been justified -- that they themselves were right all along. And because conversion is basically a cognitive one based on contrasts between "light and darkness," "error and truth," the rational approach of "the Society" in presenting its perspective remains consonant with the nature of the conversion itself (Beckford 1975: 188 *passim*). As long as the convert relies upon the directions and instructions of "the Society," he is not likely to stray. And herein lies the crux of the conversion process within this group, as Beckford accurately concluded:

Only when converts willingly obey orders emanating from the Society's leaders, can one say that the conversion process has been successful. This frequently occurs long before individual converts have fully familiarized themselves with the movement's ideology and is, in this respect, a more important element of conversion than changes in religious ideas and feelings. Thus, in so far as there is a critical point in the conversion process, it centres around the acceptance or the rejection of the claims to authority made by the Society's officers at all levels of the hierarchy (Beckford 1975: 192-193).

Two critical aspects of the Witnesses' proselytizing activities are designed to facilitate the conversion to the Society. First, directions are explicit

that all Bible Studies held in private homes with "interested" people should be showing signs of "real progress" to be deemed worthy of pursuit. The process of "Bible Study" is one of seduction or "gentle persuasion," as can be seen from the official Witness guide,

Organization for Kingdom-Preaching and Disciple-Making:

In order to understand the Bible's message, what God's purposes are and what they must do to gain his favor and life, most persons need to have many questions answered and much explanation given. In modern times, the most effective means found to accomplish this has been home Bible studies, using publications provided by the "faithful and discreet slave" class through the Watch Tower Society. This systematic coverage of Bible truths makes possible steady progress.

. . . It has proved effective to demonstrate the study method used by Jehovah's witnesses, considering one or two paragraphs from one of the Watch Tower publications. However, before demonstrating the home Bible study arrangement it may be necessary to converse with the person for awhile, perhaps answering some questions. With some persons, several visits may be required before a study can be started. When people see how the Bible answers questions that have concerned them, this is usually what succeeds in interesting them in having a home Bible study on a regular basis (1972: 121-122).

It continues:

We recommend that you urge the student to study the lesson before you come

If the study is new, you may find it beneficial to look up all the scriptures, even though some are quoted directly in the publication. In this way you focus principal attention on the Bible itself. But after a short time, it should be possible simply to discuss what the texts quoted in the paragraphs say, while looking up those that are cited but not quoted (122).

Eventually, the "student" is introduced to the importance of prayer, of unity of action, of fellowship at the Kingdom Hall, and of preaching: "As you study together week after week, keep in mind that for these persons to gain life they must eventually begin to bring forth fruit"(124).

Unless the potential converts are willing to give clear indications of accepting both the doctrines and the consequent responsibilities of attending meetings and possibly even beginning to engage in going from door to door themselves, the study should be discontinued. Given that the Bible studies are held once a week for one hour at a time, the convert is often expected to make a choice based on approximately twenty-six hours of exposure to the doctrines in their simplest forms. However, it must be noted that in practice many Witnesses do continue nonproductive studies for years in order to retain the status which accompanies the regular recording of an ongoing Bible study.

The next stage of conversion is the process of baptism and subsequent absorption into the social milieu of the Organization. During this period there is a continually decreasing emphasis on the doctrines, and especially on the studying of the Bible itself, as the

Society's own literature is pushed to the fore as an essential "tool" to Bible understanding. As shall be demonstrated in this chapter, a heavy emphasis is placed upon social imperatives in the Witness literature, which helps bring the individual into a dependent relationship with the Organization:

If you have dedicated your life to the doing of Jehovah's will and are now contemplating baptism, you will be greatly aided by reading recent publications of the Watch Tower Society . . . (OKPD 1972: 18).

Of some eighty questions asked of the suppliant immediately prior to baptism, fifty are doctrinal and thirty are of social orientation (19-52). After this initial indoctrination, the baptised person is usually considered to be "on his own" -- and gleans his information from the five weekly meetings. Although Bible studies may continue to be conducted with him, the studies are not "counted" in the Society's statistics(127). Once baptized, the individual is at the mercy of the Organization, especially when it comes to discipline. A child who has been baptised at twelve can be disfellowshipped and ostracized, but "non-baptized associates" of any age, although they may be "named" by the congregation, cannot be formally expelled, no matter how old they are -- and thus are safe from the at times tyrannical application of justice manifested at the congregational level(174).

The noncathartic, rational approach to conversion evidenced by the Witnesses has occasioned criticism of their basic "faith" in the apocalyptic vision they apparently espouse. For example, Alán Watts wrote of the Witnesses:

. . . [they] don't really believe it because if they did they'd be screaming in the streets. They'd be taking enormous full page ads in the *New York Times* every day, and having horrendous television programs about the Last Judgment (Watts 1970: 19).

Watt's perspective characterizes a typical lack of understanding of the relationships of power which exist between the individual, the community and the symbolic superstructure within the world of the Witnesses. If "faith" in the ransom sacrifice of Christ was all that was necessary, the Witnesses would certainly be in a better position to communicate their vision in the traditions of Oral Roberts and Jerry Falwell. However, acceptance of Christ is but one step in the salvation process of the Witnesses. They firmly adhere to the belief that "faith without works is dead" (*James* 2: 26).

During the early years in Canada, the Witnesses not only made extensive use of radio broadcasting to spread their message, but actually were instrumental in spreading the use of the radio as a general means of communication in Canada. The Witnesses were already

engaged in the radio transmission of their message in the early 1920s. In 1923, land was purchased near Saskatoon and by 1924 the Witnesses had begun to broadcast on their own station. Radio communication steadily expanded:

In Toronto, the Society operated Station CKCX (beginning in 1926). One of the outstanding programs was the lecture "Earth's Greatest Conflict Near," given by Brother Rutherford in 1926 at the Pantages Theatre. CKCX became the center for a nationwide hookup of stations that broadcast the Kingdom message.

As our radio work expanded, in 1926 the Society started Station CHCY in Edmonton. It also established a fourth station, CFYC at Vancouver (*Yearbook* 1979: 119-121).

The 1979 *yearbook*, in its well-researched essay on the history of the Witnesses in Canada, described the public controversy which arose over proliferation of radio stations for specifically religious purposes. The Witnesses' message to the world was, and remains, not merely "Get Christ for Salvation"; their message as "otherworldly eclectics" awaiting the apocalyptic transformation of the entire world is bound to be at odds with established political, religious and economic values, and has historically resulted in their running afoul of the law, frequent accusations of sedition being levelled against this gadfly group (Penton 1974: *passim*).

The first serious battle with the authorities occurred in March 1928 after the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation denied them renewals of all broadcasting licences. Petitions were collected and the issue was

debated in the House of Commons, but as the yearbook noted,

The licenses never were granted again. Hence, the work of broadcasting the Kingdom message had to be continued on other stations. By 1931 there were 21 stations carrying Brother Rutherford's recorded lectures as a weekly feature (Yearbook 1979: 124-125).

Radio broadcasting may indeed have served to draw attention to the Witnesses, but it could not take the place of their house-to-house proselytizing which constituted a display of their "living faith". In 1937 the Witnesses abandoned radio broadcasting in preference to the use of the gramophone to play the lectures of Rutherford to any householder who might listen. Before accusing the Witnesses of lack of true faith or belief, national laws which regulate the content of mass media must be considered, and note must be taken of the fact that the Witnesses *do* work in the streets. They spend phenomenal amounts of money on their own advertising through their magazines, pamphlets and books as well as on mass assemblies which invariably attract the attention of the press. True, they do not go about "screaming in the streets," but scholars of Watts' stature must acknowledge that "otherworldly eclectic" and "raging lunatic" are not synonymous terms.

The social imperative, which arises from the symbolic matrix of the Witnesses and demands of them active preaching as part of the responsibility of accepting membership in the group, must be recognized as a critical factor in the conversion process itself. As with Watts, Beckford did not account for this variable when he wrote that "the main repelling factors included the obligation to undertake regular public evangelism"(Beckford 1975: 189). What both men failed to comprehend is that the Witnesses clearly *do not want* among their membership persons who are not willing to carry out the social mandate of the group to engage in proselytizing. This point should be evident, as Beckford noted of those Witnesses who begin as avid evangelizers and "cool off" in their enthusiasm for the work:

The dilemma is basically between tolerating partial defectors in the hope of eventually restoring them to full fellowship and running the risk of alienating practising Witnesses by appearing to condone rebellious or lax behaviour (Beckford 1975: 189).

"Backsliders" create enough problems for the Witnesses without encouraging the involvement of people who from the onset clearly do not wish to spread the message of Jehovah's kingdom door-to-door. Active preaching is in fact one of the most effective boundary mechanisms

the Witnesses have created. Again this point was acknowledged by Beckford:

The contrast with Jehovah's witnesses is therefore quite sharp: retaining only the most basic elements of their original Christian viewpoint, they reorganize their whole cognitive structure and internalize the prescriptions of a role which rarely has any connection with the type of role played in their previous religious tradition (Beckford 1975: 191).

As a result of the emphasis on the importance of active preaching, converts are encouraged early to become actively involved in preaching:

You can explain to them [i.e. "Bible studies," the term "Bible study" is used colloquially to refer to the person being studied with] some points about Kingdom-preaching and disciple-making and show what a privilege it is to share in this. They may start by sharing things learned with relatives, friends and others. Gradually their desire to have a fuller share in this grand privilege of service will grow, and, when they qualify, it can be your happy privilege to help them get started in the public ministry (OKPD 1972: 125).

After a general acceptance of the apocalyptic vision itself, preaching is clearly the greatest manifestation of "faith" for the Witnesses. For those who do respond to the initial appeal of the vision and accept the role of preacher within the community, the rewards garnered for their participation help to retain them within the group. They are accorded *status* as "Ministers of

Jehovah"; and as many scholars have accurately concluded (including Herbert Stroup, Milton Czatt, and Alan Rogerson) the majority of Jehovah's Witnesses have precious little status within the larger society.

Conversion to the Witnesses also provides other important psychological rewards as described by Alan Rogerson:

What sort of people choose to become Jehovah's Witnesses? One answer to this is that the chief field for converts appears to be amongst disillusioned church members -- people with a 'religious' outlook searching for the answers to the questions: Why is there evil? Why are we here?, etc. The relatively sophisticated orthodox churches feel there is no definite answer to these queries, but the Witnesses provide an answer to all such questions -- their remedy is no less than a universal panacea! Hoekema recalls the expression: 'the cults are the Unpaid Bills of the Church'; and it often seems as though the Witnesses have set out to accomplish what the established churches have failed to do (Rogerson 1979: 175-176).

Within the symbolically constituted world of the Witnesses, the disinherited souls of other churches are provided with "answers" to the existential questions of meaning as well as formulae of *action* in which they feel a sense of power in being able to function productively within their newfound community. With this in mind, it is not difficult to understand why truly committed converts pose the fewest problems for the Society: they have little

to gain from rocking the boat of their newfound status and psychological security. It is in their own self-interest that members of this origin ask few questions, or even think them.

Once the individual has agreed to obey the Society in all matters pertaining to personal conduct, and has shown at least tentative signs of engaging in preaching, the final act of "faith" is demanded: baptism in the form of total immersion. The Witnesses claim that this is a symbolic act, executed in public, to indicate to the community of believers that the individual has irrevocably "dedicated" himself to Jehovah and the Organization. Largely because the Witnesses describe baptism as a "mere symbol" of an internal state, many writers have suggested that baptism is not as important among the Witnesses as it is among other groups. This expresses an ignorance of the true significance of the act, for baptism is critical to the Witnesses themselves, for it serves as a contract with Jehovah and his Organization: the contract is eternally binding on the member -- an individual may never from that point on question the Organization nor withdraw from it and, in particular, never criticize it without severe censure. The act of baptism puts one formally on the "road to life" as

indicated in *The Watchtower*, 1 May, 1980:

With confidence we look forward to the 'life to come,' an eternity of happy living in God's righteous new order. Our faith which is so essential in becoming a dedicated, baptized disciple of Jesus Christ, can lead to our gaining that grand future (17).

In the act of baptism one acknowledges a "coming to a knowledge of 'the Truth'." Within the context of the Witnesses' definition of the "unforgivable sin," which is a turning away from "the Truth" after having come to know it, excommunication is the natural *sequitur* for any member who wishes to renege on his dedication vows (*The Watchtower* 1 November 1980: 8-10). If one does eventually wish to leave "quietly," he is generally prevented from doing so by the Witnesses' persistence in trying to "help" him back to the fold; whether he *wants* to be helped is of no consequence. If he *states openly* a desire to withdraw or become "disassociated" he is treated as a disfellowshipped person even if he has not been formally disfellowshipped; he is "safe" only so long as he does not join a rival church or "secular organization the principles of which are opposed to the scriptural principles on which the Christian congregation is based" (*OKPD* 1972: 17), and so long as he is careful *not* to renounce his faith openly.

What Beckford and other scholars could not comprehend is the fact that much of the "partial defection" which they discuss is far from *partial* in the mind of the defector. The harsh punishment meted out to those *baptized* people honest enough to admit their doubts effectively demands of each would-be defector a "clean nose, closed mouth" public front to cover the underlying rejection of symbol, Society, or both. The current rash of dissension has led the Society to request individuals to clarify *in writing* that they are *de facto* defectors, thus "disassociating" themselves formally and irrevocably from the good graces of the Congregation.

II

*Language and the Internalization
of the Symbol*

A long time must be spent by new converts in learning the "theocratic language" of the Witnesses through which their vision is transmitted and which distinguishes them as a unique community. As Rogerson noted, "a new convert's conversation conspicuously lacks the 'stock phrases' used and sanctioned by the Society

The Witnesses themselves approve of such a special vocabulary which they feel helps to ensure their loyalty to the Society -- a situation similar to that in George Orwell's novel *1984* where the creation of *Newspeak* eliminated the possibility of thoughtcrime! (Rogerson 1969: 178).

Conversion to the Witnesses often occurs before the individual "has fully familiarized himself with the movement's ideology" (Beckford 1975: 192-193). But from the point of initial acceptance of the general symbolic system of the Witnesses, the process of assimilating and internalizing that system begins in earnest. Language is a critical tool used by the Organization to assist the individual in assimilating the symbolic corpus. Jehovah's Witnesses, after a

short association with the group, come to use a different language style when talking to each other alone, when talking to each other with a "newly-interested" person or "person of good will" present, when talking to or in the presence of someone who has "fallen away," and when talking with "worldly" people.

The Witnesses refer to each other as "brother" and "sister" and collectively as "the Friends," who are all "in the Truth." "Brother" and "Sister" are also used as titles of address up and down the ladder of command, from the mere child to the president of the Organization; "Mr." or "Mrs." are titles reserved for "worldly" people. Hence the president is referred to as "Brother Franz" and his wife as "Sister Franz." To call him "Mr. Franz" would be an insult. When one "brother" grew a beard recently while on holidays and turned up unshorn at the Kingdom Hall, his relatives berated him, saying, seriously, "Look at those whiskers! Tom isn't our brother anymore." Some "brothers" have been disfellowshipped for less. If newly interested persons come to the Kingdom Hall, they are introduced either by their first name or as "Mr." or "Mrs.". Immediately the Witnesses know their status, and treat them deferentially as newcomers. They must earn their

status as "brother" or "sister" (as "one of the Friends") by becoming active in the ministry.

The adoption of different language patterns is automatic and largely unconscious; and yet that there is such a thing as "theocratic language" the Witnesses do not deny. Their language in many ways helps define them as a cultural group, and it is often possible to detect a Witness just by listening to his social conversation. The "theocratic language" includes the redefinition of standard English words, the emotional charging of words, the peculiar use of metaphor in argument, the adoption of mannerisms of speech, and the linguistic peculiarities of the distinction between their oral and written traditions. The Witnesses have not actually coined any new words, although they do alter words. For example, they write of the many forms of "happinesses" and talk of "happifying " experiences. They also embellish many words with additional connotations or ascribe peculiar meanings to them. Thus, "theocratic" describes not only the organizational structure of the Witnesses, which they firmly believe to be under the control and inspiration of God, but it is also used as an adjective or adverb ("theocratically"), to modify any "godly"

or "faithful" or "good" behaviour on the part of the Witnesses -- behaviour that sets them apart as Witnesses. It is "theocratic" to refuse a blood transfusion, and "untheocratic" to accept one.

Among those terms which have been redefined to accommodate the Witnesses' theocratic conceptions are "Christendom" and "Christian." The former refers to all Catholic and Protestant religions collectively *other than* Jehovah's Witnesses, for the latter refers to the Witnesses alone who regard themselves as the only true "Christians." The notion that all religions of the world (collectively known as "Babylon the Great") are outlets for doctrines of the devil deceptively disguised was responsible for the long-lasting reluctance of Jehovah's Witnesses to be known as a "religion" or "church." In the words of "Judge" Rutherford: "'Religion' is doing anything contrary to the will of Almighty God" (*Yearbook* 1941: 14). These terms have finally gained a modicum of acceptance within the Organization (*The Watchtower* 1 January 1982:7).

An issue closely connected with the perception of 'religion' as a negative word is the traditional spelling of the name of the group with a lower case "w." As Rogerson explained in 1969:

The Witnesses today insist on spelling their name with a small 'w' -- *Jehovah's witnesses*. They believe they are not just a new cult or sect (Jehovah's Witnesses) but they are simply God's servants, God's present-day witnesses to His name and glory (Rogerson 1969: 56).

The Witnesses insisted upon the use of the lower case "w" until 1976. All literature published by them prior to March 15, 1976 contained "w" in the name "Jehovah's witnesses"; then without one word of explanation verbally or in writing, the April 1st, 1976 *Watchtower* contained the words "Jehovah's Witnesses" throughout the text. Owing to a proofreading oversight, the inside front cover and flagstaff containing publishing details continued to use the lower case "w" until August 1st, 1976. In questioning several Witnesses about this change, not even the "elders" seemed to have noticed -- each expressing surprise when the change was pointed out. Five and a half years after a change had been made in what used to be a major issue, no one seems to remember that there ever was an issue made of the capitalization of the name. It is suggestive that this alteration was made in 1976 after Nathan Knorr was incapacitated by an inoperable brain tumour. One can only speculate that as he lost his personal grip on the reins of power,

other members of the Governing Body made certain adjustments more suited to their own tastes.

The very fact that the Witnesses have a God whose name can be used as part of their own is significant. First, it distinguishes them from all other groups -- in particular splinter groups from the Russell years. Two of these groups, the Dawn Bible Students and the Laymen's Home Missionary Movement, maintained close theological ties with Russell and still print his *Studies in the Scriptures*. They claimed the original *doctrine*; Rutherford settled for the printing presses and the corporation. Once accepted, the name "Jehovah's Witnesses" enabled the members (in their own minds) to "communicate" with God as a friend or "father-figure" on a "first-name" basis. This created a feeling of intimacy with God and provided within the mind a psychological "hot-line" to him. *The Watchtower* often refers to the Witnesses as "Jehovah's name-people":

Our having an approved relationship with Jehovah, knowing him as a real Person, and making his name known to others will result in his holding us in mind for our lasting good. As Malachi said, it will be as if He wrote our names down in "a book of remembrance" with eternal life as a reward -- John 17: 3 (*The Watchtower* 1 May 1978: 14).

The Witnesses recognize clearly that the idiosyncratic nature of their expressions goes beyond the adoption of a specific name for God. This was pointed out explicitly in the January 1965 *Kingdom Ministry*, a four-page news sheet designed to organize the weekly "Service Meeting":

It is also good to be careful in the terms we use. Words such as "Kingdom," "Armageddon," "remnant" and "great crowd" are everyday expressions to us, but they probably would not be correctly understood by most people we meet in the house-to-house work; so it is wise to add something that will make clear just what they mean (3).

Similarly, in the *Theocratic Ministry School Guidebook*, the Witnesses were reminded,

The language we use in our homes, at work, at school, will reflect favourably on our ministry Our manner of speaking is important. This includes even our facial expressions and tone of voice (1971: 54).

Thus the Witnesses themselves realize the use of what can be called "words of power" in the process of self-affirmation. As Roberto Assagioli explained:

Sometimes a single word suffices, but often it is better expressed through a short phrase or formula. The words or phrases can be said only inwardly, but are more effective if pronounced aloud -- that is, with the added power of sound -- or, if put in writing or printed, observed intently. The words or phrases to be used naturally differ and must be chosen in accordance with the objective we are aiming at, with what we want to evoke and develop in ourselves (Assagioli 1973: 172-173).

This type of control demands a "screening" mechanism as well. Not only are the Witnesses told what phrases to use, they are also carefully instructed in what language forms *not* to use. Such expressions include "lucky" (which implies magic), although "fortunate" (inexplicably) is acceptable. Continued use of "profane" language will eventually lead to public rebuke or worse. So concerned is the Society to avoid the accusation of being lewd that its publications overuse euphemisms, as in this description of the sex act in their sex education manual *Your Youth: Getting The Best Out Of It*: "The husband lies close to his wife so that his male organ fits naturally into her birth canal"(1976: 22). I have yet to see the words "penis" or "vagina" in any of the Witnesses' literature. Sometimes, a similar lexiphanic effect is achieved by unwitting *non sequitur*, as in the booklet *Unseen Spirits: Do They Help Us? Or Do They Harm Us?* After discussing "pagan" *funeral* rites, they conclude:

Yes, deaths, funerals, marriages, pregnancies, births, circumcisions are all occasions to be alert. God's Word warns: "Awake! be on the alert! Your enemy the devil, like a roaring lion, prowls round looking for someone to devour"(1978: 53).

The Witnesses cultivate their language carefully, specifically in the weekly "Ministry School Meeting" during which five members (chosen on a rotating basis)

each present-a short "talk." Male speakers stand before the podium and address the audience directly, but the women present skits as they are not allowed to take part in the direct instruction of fellow Witnesses. Also, if a woman ever feels moved to "correct" a man on some detail or difference of opinion, or if she prays or says grace aloud in the presence of other baptized Witnesses -- she must first cover her head, be it with a hat or a Kleenex, to indicate that she understands her "place" within the scheme of things.

At the end of each five- to seven-minute presentation, the Ministry School Servant (an elder appointed to the task) "counsels" the speakers on three specific points contained on the "Speech Counsel" form (Figure 41, Page 331). Not until a speaker has received a "good" on a given point is he or she allowed to proceed to the next point for emphasis during the next presentation.

The Theocratic Ministry School Guidebook is a 192-page reference manual for improving one's "teaching" skills. It is designed to help the member achieve the desired patterns capsulized in the Speech Counsel form.

Given the intensive indoctrination in language itself, it is not surprising that the classic "Good morning! It's a lovely day today, isn't it?" one uses in greeting a householder, could be replaced with a string of nonsense syllables and still the inflection, tone and facial gestures would indicate clearly that the speaker was a Witness. This adoption of specific physical attitudes and gestures, analogous to the *mudras* of the Yoga tradition, was Assagioli's third affirmation technique (Assagioli 1973: 173). Thus the "theocratic language" comes to encroach upon the realm of what is more popularly called "body language."

The rhetorical question, illustrated in the above greeting, is in itself a major linguistic tool used by the Witnesses. So ingrained is its use, that even casual conversation around the dinner table is permeated with self-answered questions. A quiet, in-group conversation is spattered with such statements as "We are¹ privileged to be among Jehovah's chosen

1. The italicized words are spoken more slowly and emphatically than the other words within the sentence.

people, *aren't we?*" and "We *can't* be too careful of bad worldly associations, *can we?*". And if the person being addressed is "lax" in some way the questions can become pointedly mordacious -- "You *do* look dreadful in those clothes, *don't* you?" or "You *won't* get through Armageddon acting that way, *will* you?". Even brief encounters with this form of conversation are extremely irritating to anyone not considered to be a part of the elite "we", yet among the Witnesses, the stock answers to the stock questions provide a verbal feedback system for consolidating social integration within the faith. It also obviates the necessity of thinking when presented with a question. When lured off the course of their carefully prepared house-to-house rhetorical-interrogation presentations, many become flustered and are unable to continue.

The use of specialized language and the rhetorical question is often complicated by the use of analogy. One example of this combination is to be found in the Witnesses' attack on the theory of evolution. This often-treated subject was dealt with "in depth" in a 1967 publication entitled *Did Man Get Here By Evolution or By Creation?* In presenting the subject matter to a membership already acculturated to the pronunciation

of the word as "evil-ution", the Society asks:

Do you believe that these creatures achieved this ability by *blind* evolutionary *chance*? [Italics mine]. Is it not obvious that an intelligent Creator with a perfect understanding of physical laws designed their bodies? And since man learns from this, does not that show there had to be a teacher? (DMGHE 1967: 122).

The whole tone of the book is established in the first sentence of the text: "Are you a descendant of an apelike beast that lived millions of years ago?" (DMGHE 1967: 5). One is aware from the first that the Witnesses consider evolution to be so ridiculous as to hardly warrant refutation. The Witnesses however do not notice the inappropriateness of the analogies often used in the process of "debating" the issues. For example:

Mutations are compared with accidents in the genetic machinery of living things. They are more like the wrecking of an automobile, not the building of one. An accident is not associated with improvement, but with disaster. Dropping a delicate watch or throwing a wrench into a computer's mechanism is not calculated to improve performance (DMGHE 1967: 64).

Not even the obvious problem of comparing an inanimate object with a living organism poses a problem for the Witnesses who read and "study" this book. Surprisingly, even Rogerson liked the book: "The tone is reasonable and there are few errors of logic and reasoning . . . " (Rogerson 1969:117).

So compartmentalized is the thinking of the Witnesses that their own theory of "variation" poses no problem for them in spite of their adamant rejection of "evolution." They firmly believe that the flood destroyed all non-aquatic animal life approximately 4,000 years ago. Therefore, all extant forms of animal life are directly descended from archetypal "types" or "kinds" that survived the global flood in Noah's ark. All members of the *Felis* genus, for example, including the mountain lion and the housecat, "sprang" (but did *not* "evolve") from the two archetypal cats on the ark which contained all the genetic variables that have come to be expressed in the last 4,000 years.

As Rogerson noted of other books,

A long acquaintance with the literature of the Witnesses leads one to the conclusion that they live in the intellectual "twilight zone". That is, most of their members, even their leaders, are not well educated and not very intelligent. Whenever their literature strays onto the fields of philosophy, academic theology, science or any severe mental discipline their ideas at best mirror popular misconceptions, at worst they are completely nonsensical (Rogerson 1969: 116).

The linguistic peculiarities of the Witnesses serves to define and support their worldview -- their apprehended reality. When threatened by dissonant messages from the broader culture, they may retreat into their own intellectual world where standard definitions and the rules of

formal logic have no power. The vibrant quality of their exclusive communication system creates for them, within that world, a system of reaffirmation and definition that sets them apart from the "outsider," the "Other" -- those inhabitants of the earth who after all are doomed to destruction. Their language system also protects them from external criticism by raising a barrier of psychological "white noise" which the voice of "the world" cannot readily penetrate. Sometimes, the vocabulary of the Witnesses becomes so specialized that they cannot properly communicate with the average man in the street; and the literature, in challenging the criticism of scholars, occasionally waxes ludicrous, because the specialized definition of a given word is assumed to be the *only* definition. One example of muddled thinking from a recent *Watchtower* will suffice to demonstrate the ways in which the Witnesses, having redefined or limited the definitions of words for their own purposes, argue in a vacuum.

The Witnesses' concept of "materialism" is strictly "the habit of putting money or possessions before God." The fact that "materialism" equally properly refers to "the system of material things; the material universe" quite escapes them, and they ignore the fact that it has specialized meanings in theology and philosophy as well:

Religious adversaries deride Jehovah's Witnesses for preaching the millennial hope For example, French Dominican priest H. C. Chery, who has made a speciality of criticizing Jehovah's Witnesses, calls the hope of paradise restored on earth "a materialistic dream" (*Watchtower* 15 April 1981: 22).

Chery is obviously right in the sense that the Witnesses believe that their existence in paradise on earth will be "tangible" in physical or material terms. Their dream is their hope of paradise in "the New World." Hence, "materialistic dream" is totally consonant with everything the Witnesses teach about the prospect of the millennium. But for "materialistic," the Witnesses read "selfish" or "grasping" or "tied to possessions." Their long "refutation" of Chery's single phrase is, accordingly, absurd. They protest,

Even now, in a pleasure-oriented world, these Christians [i.e. Jehovah's Witnesses] are putting up a hard fight against materialism and pleasure-seeking in their own lives and within their congregations. They put the accent on spiritual values. They fully realize that if any fall victim to materialism in this "time of the end," they may never see the millennium (23).

They add that "Jehovah's Witnesses are already living in a spiritual paradise," that the millennium will call for "much self-sacrifice," and that during the millennium, the Witnesses "will not selfishly cultivate paradise conditions just for themselves and their families":

Christ's 1,000 year reign is in fact a "day" of judgment for those who survive the fast-approaching "war of the great day of God the Almighty" (Acts 17:30,31; Rev. 14:14,16); it is also the judgment day for the millions of the dead who will be resurrected and judged according to the works they will practice in paradise on earth. (John 5:28,29); Luke 23:42,43) These innumerable resurrected ones will need to be *unselfishly* taught the ways of righteousness by those who are already living under the millennial rule of the Messiah. (Compare Isaiah 11: 1-9.) No "materialistic dream" that!

Stating that such a hope is unselfish because it "will mean much hard work, also, on a spiritual level," the article continues:

What is more, the millennium will be just a beginning. After a final test, when the 1,000 years have ended, those men and women who remain faithful to God's universal sovereignty will be ushered into an eternity of life on a paradise earth. -- 1 Cor. 15:24-28; Rev. 20: 7-10.

Such is the hope now cherished by over 2,000,000 Christian witnesses of Jehovah in over 200 lands. It is very much *alive in their minds and hearts*, so much so that they are always happy to give others the "reason for the hope that is in them." -- 1 Pet. 3:15 (*The Watchtower* 15 April 1981: 23 [*italics mine*]).

In response to a common-sense statement that the hope of paradise on earth is a materialistic dream, the Witnesses state that their hope is for a thousand years of reconstruction, and testing, and retesting, and instructing the resurrected patiently during the millennium, only at the end of it to discover that they have to be tested again.

III

Free Choice and Indoctrination

Within the very real, symbolic world of Jehovah's Witnesses, and the concomitant community formed as a collective expression of and mechanism for achieving the ultimate "perfect society," there are two distinct categories of people -- those who voluntarily became members as adults, and those who entered the community of believers as infants or very young children. In attending a meeting or convention of Jehovah's Witnesses, the differences between these two groups of individuals would not be evident; yet the Organization must exert its authority in a different way towards each of the two groups.

Those who joined as adults -- for whom the act was a "reasoned" one made against a backdrop of what Josh Freed has called "a chaotic world of multiple choices"(Freed 1980: 205) -- have experienced life in the larger society, and like Daniel's *te-kel*, it has been weighed and found wanting. More than being "the unpaid bills of the churches," sects like Jehovah's Witnesses are the unpaid bills of society in general -- a society in which converts felt oppressed and

powerless. For these individuals, the symbolic vision of the Witnesses was a "liberating mechanism" in that it provided an alternative socio-cultural strategy for existing humanly and meaningfully within the world. To paraphrase Joseph Campbell, they had been freed, not so much *from* anything as *for* something fresh and new (Campbell 1960: 44). Within this state of relative freedom, the converted Witnesses have renamed and recreated the world. To quote Freire:

. . . The word is more than just an instrument which makes dialogue possible; accordingly, we must seek its constitutive elements. Within the word we find two dimensions, reflection and action, in such radical interaction that if one is sacrificed -- even in part -- the other immediately suffers. There is no true word that is not at the same time a praxis. Thus to speak a true word is to transform the world, to change it. Once named, the world in its turn reappears to the namers as a problem and requires of them a new naming. Men are not built in silence, but in word, in work, in action reflection (Freire 1972: 17-18)

Man does not try to seek "freedom" from oppression by making an intellectual leap into a void where form is not molded by intellectual categories. Rather, man, and the society of which he is invariably a part, can seek liberation only in the form of new categories which provide novel perspectives or dispositions which in concert create the ordering principles which come to

govern all his social and cultural activities. They tell him who he is and where he is going, and provide the channel through which he may exercise personal power to arrive at the goal of his vision.

Many people joined the Witnesses out of a desire for life in paradise with their resurrected loved ones, or because they had despaired of national governments ever achieving international peace and prosperity. To someone who has dreamed such "impossible dreams," the appeal of a group which claims to have found the necessary formula for realizing the dreams is compelling -- and justifiably the Witnesses refer to their vision as "the new order of things." Still, as Freire noted, transformation occurs not only through reflection, but through action as well. The reflective aspect of living symbolic systems is analogous to Ludwig Wittgenstein's concept of "depth grammar" which contains the basic propositions of meaning which render language comprehensible. In its fragmented form the symbolic system is reduced to specific categories of behaviour in a variety of ideologies and dogmas. Thus from the ordering principles of the symbols the institutions of the group evolve to maintain or achieve the meaning of the myth through action; and this aspect of

myth is similar to Wittgenstein's "surface grammar" which deals specifically with rules of perception and behaviour (Wittgenstein 1953: 7-8). At this point, one comes back to Beckford's criticism of the Witnesses when he wrote that "The 'translation' of doctrines into social forms and practices is the Achilles' heel of the Watch Tower movement"(Beckford 1975: 180).

It cannot be denied that the Witnesses do experience difficulties in *enforcing* their social imperatives, upon the "home-grown" generations in particular; yet that these imperatives exist as concomitant aspects of the theological doctrine is an ineluctable facet of the overall "world transforming" process, or praxis. Indeed, it is only through the co-ordination of *action* based on the explicitly theological "thematic universe" that the community can function at all. Their imperatives for action are the channels through which power flows and is expressed, and without this corpus of designated behaviours, the community would be unable to *act* out its mandate, and the goals would slip from the grip of every member. Problems lie, not in the imperatives themselves, as much as in the *application* of them with respect to the unity principle and fundamental human compassion.

The most critical social imperative for the Witnesses is to become and remain regular "publishers" engaging in the preaching activity of the Organization. In considering action necessary for the achievement of their goals, they apply literally the words of *James 2: 26*, "Indeed, as the body without spirit is dead, so also faith without works is dead" (*NWT*). Consequently, no matter how long one remains an active publisher or preacher, the moment he ceases to be "active" he is regarded by his peers as "as good as dead" in terms of achieving the ultimate goal of life everlasting in an earthly paradise. This emphasis on one's personal "track record" results in a situation within which one must *buy* salvation, but few realize upon entering the movement that the purchase price is open-ended and that the bill can never be paid in full until personal death or the advent of Armageddon.

The implications of the Witnesses' emphasis on never-ending preaching becomes apparent to the new member only as year after year passes without respite from active service -- and Armageddon is still no closer than "just around the corner." As William Schnell explained in his second, more moderate book *Jehovah's Witnesses' Errors Exposed*:

I knew enough of the Bible to realize that it teaches that our salvation was fought for and won by our Lord Jesus Christ almost 2,000 years ago, and this was accomplished on the Cross at Calvary. Yet as one of Jehovah's Witnesses I was constantly training people to look for salvation at some future date in Armageddon, convincing them to work hard for it as a Kingdom Publisher.

. . . I taught others that the counting and reporting of hours of service to the Watchtower Society, the placing of their books, booklets and magazines with the people, meant their fulfilling of theocratic requirements which would assure all of us a place of safety in Armageddon. Salvation would come by works (Schnell 1959: 13).

The salient feature of the Witnesses' programme for salvation is that it is without end. One can never hope to do enough for God if one allows one's energy to flag. There is no divine retirement plan for aging Witnesses, as Schnell concluded:

Assurance of salvation is prized amidst Jehovah's Witnesses. You work hard for it. But as you perform one task, other tasks loom ahead and you are never sure. For thirty years I sought assurance in this manner. I had not found it! (Schnell 1959: 13).

Schnell's total break with the Witnesses was occasioned by his own doubts -- doubts planted in his mind when his father lay on his deathbed after decades of work as a Witness, only to reject their vision in preference for a direct trust in the mercy of Christ (Schnell 1959: 11).

Few Witnesses arrive at a point where they openly reject the vision of the Society and go their own way, creating bad publicity for the group as they leave; few wish to suffer the type of social censure and dragooning to which Schnell was subjected. Furthermore, many members have close family connections within the community of believers, and they do not wish these ties destroyed by being disfellowshipped -- which they can expect as their reward for any criticism or expressions of disbelief. This form of emotional pressure does function to reduce open rebellion and public criticism; but it in turn creates a whole new arena of problems which for the Witnesses serves to disrupt the effective expression of their potential power.

Of those who convert to the religion, few ultimately reject the vision itself. They have made their "choice" and by and large are content to see it through to its logical conclusion -- to a paradise with the prospect of never dying; or to "death with honour" with the hope of resurrection. Still, many faithful Witnesses, after thirty, forty, or fifty years of active service, do stop preaching. These individuals create a great deal of concern among their fellow believers, who fear that by relaxing in zeal,

the older Witnesses will lose their chance at paradise by not remaining faithful to the demand for service to the end. Many of these older members, however, seem to come to a personal "arrangement" (as it were) with God concerning their salvation, and as a result the tension created by their slacking off is perpetuated and exacerbated as more and more members slide into this velleitic group (YWLF 1967: 209). These members never clarify their beliefs concerning their personal trust in Jehovah's discretion because such beliefs fly directly in the face of the Society's social imperatives. As already explained, they convince themselves that forty or fifty years of service must count for *something*, and that beyond a point no reasonable God could deny them paradise. It is for them not a question of the principle of whether they *want* paradise so much as it is a question of the total price or cost of their investment over the long run. In addition to these persons, there are some who *do* reject the vision or lose faith in it; but out of fear of losing their families and the humiliation of total ostracism, they too, having ceased to preach, become meeting attenders only. Because people in neither group dare voice their positions, it is difficult to distinguish between

those who have given up on the hope of paradise, and those who assume that, in spite of organizational warnings to the contrary, they have "earned" a place in the New World already.

One final point must be made concerning those who become members through conversion. Much of the extant literature on the Witnesses suggests that they become involved in the movement as a result of low intelligence. This attitude belies the power of the processes operative within the group, and serves only to mask certain basic issues. That the organization does have a "shockingly anti-intellectual" bent has been well-documented by Penton, who has demonstrated in his recent work that even those who have served the Society well as lawyers and apologists often find themselves in disfavour during a period of internal conflict (Penton [unpublished]: 10-18). These people often have extensive knowledge of the internal workings of the Organization and find themselves, like the slave labour used to build the hidden tombs of Egyptian pharaohs, sacrificially removed to prevent them from disseminating knowledge considered dangerous to the well-being of the upper echelon potentates. Most Witnesses, although *capable* of intelligent, "reasonable thought," have as

part of the payment for paradise, delegated authority to the Organization for directing their lives in accordance with their desires for realizing the ultimate goal, and finally abrogate *all* responsibility and rights over their personal lives -- in effect, allowing "the Society" to do their thinking for them. They have come to live in an "intellectual twilight zone," in Rogerson's words, because at some point they *chose* to do so. And among those whose intellectual world becomes infused with "illumination" from some disparate source, fear of the awesome power that the Society has come to wield over their personal lives restrains their actions.

Thus, from the subjective perspective of those who came to the Witnesses by choice, they attained "freedom" from the oppressiveness, powerlessness and meaninglessness experienced in the larger cultural world. In order to achieve his ultimate goal of the immeasurable pleasures of paradise, the individual works to achieve the *measurable* goal of affirmation of self before Society and "Jehovah." And the self-affirmation or self-actualization achieved by the individual is won through the ongoing communication of a shared vision and its continued validation within

the context of the social setting. Even the lack of participation in the question-and-answer portions of the meetings cannot be dismissed as lack of commitment to the vision. The meetings still perform their function of verifying the apprehended reality of the ultimate goal for the individual and the Governing Body alike. For many, it has become sufficient to hear anew, each week, the validating affirmations that that symbolic vision is for them, as a "special" people, the end they *shall* eventually achieve.

To protect the integrity of the system for the committed membership, the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society has become, with the passing of years, an increasingly "closed system" of the type described by Milton Rokeach in *The Open and Closed Mind*.¹ Typical of the closed system, the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society expresses a high degree of rejection and scorn for other belief systems, be they religious, economic, or political. It takes great care to retain rigid categories for internal and external belief systems and demands strict adherence to the internal belief system on the part of its membership. The Witnesses

1. The salient points of Rokeach's comparison of "open" and "closed" systems is contained in Appendix J.

have thus become an insular group protective of its relatively insecure position in relation to the more generally accepted and malleable socio-symbolic system of the broader society. Yet, its doctrinal assumptions constitute a highly specialized interpretation of premises and traditions extant in the broader society, necessitating vitriolic attacks against certain aspects of the broader cultural corpus to create the effect of being in total opposition to it. With their heavy emphasis on the future, the Witnesses can afford to sympathize with very few of the extant values and norms of the larger society: they cannot share adequately in the current system to realize its benefits, so they aspire to an entirely different type of system in the future -- a hope expressed in the symbols of their "thematic universe" and acted out according to the social paradigms derived therefrom.

As the Organization increases the pressures which contribute to the distinction and isolation of the group, a concomitant pressure builds from within. Like a giant pressure-cooker, this "cultural container" must "let off steam" and does so by forcibly ejecting elements of dissent from within, attempting to regulate the process in such a way as to sustain optimum

pressure on the membership without occasioning a major explosion -- a difficult task indeed in what Raymond Franz refers to as a "hermetically sealed community" (Ostling 1982: 36). That internal problems would eventually prove more disruptive to the Witnesses than any overt failure of prophecy was suggested by Alan Rogerson, who in a prophetic moment of his own in 1969 wrote:

It is, I believe, a superficial judgment to claim that 1975 will be the making or breaking of the Witnesses; they are already prepared to survive that date and it is more likely that changing social conditions will take the greatest toll of their members (Rogerson 1969: 19).

Trying social conditions, created by a reconsideration of the entire "thematic universe" within which the Witnesses live, are beginning to take their toll. The internal social repression and mismanagement of people already wounded by the disappointment of Armageddon -- not as a prophetic failure, but rather as a feasible *possibility* -- have in themselves created a divisive atmosphere within the Organization. Within this atmosphere, a significant number of dissident members now struggle to break the "hermetic seal" and allow fresh air to fill the vacuum that they perceive exists

at the Organization's centre. The Witnesses' cauldron of transformation and liberation is thus becoming, for many, the crucible of oppression from which they in turn must seek -- through reflection, redefinition and reaction -- yet another "truth."

IV

*The Seeds of Oppression,
Disorder, and Disintegration*

Like other sectarian groups, Jehovah's Witnesses must depend heavily upon ongoing conversion to sustain the fervour and commitment necessary to keep the group vital. The demand for continued proselytizing does serve to provide a stream of converts entering the mainstream of the Witness community and helps to sustain the sectarian quality of the group; but ineluctibly, the major source of growth lies in the children born to members. The problems occasioned by this phenomenon within sectarian movements was explained by Richard Neibuhr:

By its very nature the sectarian type of organization is valid for only one generation. The children born to the voluntary members of the first generation begin to make the sect a church long before they have arrived at the age of discretion. For with their coming the sect must take on the character of an educational and disciplinary institution, with the purpose of bringing the new generation into conformity with ideas and customs which have become traditional (Neibuhr [1929] 1957: 19-20).

The need for strong internal indoctrinational and disciplinary programmes for children within the movement results largely from the nature of the child's experience, which stands in marked contrast to that which brought his parents into the group. Instead of the "multiple choice society" of the parent's youth, there is the "no choice society" of the "native" child. Like Barbara Harrison, they pass through childhood "drenched in the dark blood-poetry of a religion whose adherents [draw] joy from the prospect of the imminent end of the world" (Harrison 1978: 14). In order to maintain the child's adherence through to adulthood, the Society must attempt to restrict the world of the child to the Society's vision: the child must not be encouraged to explore the poetry of other 'truths'.

As described in Chapter Four, parents have traditionally been the primary agents of the Society in the indoctrination process. They are expected to bring up their children in the "discipline and mental-regulating of Jehovah" to ensure that their own offspring will remain faithful members of the community. They work hard at it, for the cost of failure is high; the parents' own salvation can be

jeopardized if their children stray and bring their own blood-guilt upon the parents' heads, and total rejection on the part of the child as it matures toward adulthood involves the parent in a situation of having to choose between the child and the organization in accordance with the group's strict principles of ostracism -- principles which become increasingly punitive as the years pass. Note Charles Taze Russell's attitude toward the management of disfellowshipped individuals:

Such an excluded brother or sister should not be treated as an enemy nor thought of as such; but as an erring brother, as the Apostle says . . . , 'If any man obey not our word by this epistle [if he be disorderly, unwilling to submit himself to sound reasoning and loving generous rules of order] note that man, and have no company with him, to the end that he may not be ashamed; yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him to a brother. . . . He should not be passed by on the street unnoticed by the brethren, but be treated courteously. The exclusion should be merely from the privileges of the assembly and from any special brotherly associations, etc. peculiar to the faithful (*SITS* Vol. VI: 1904: 303). He is a brother still, but not in the best of standing (*The Watchtower and Herald of Christ's Presence* 1 March, 1912: 82-83).

By contrast the September 15th, 1981 *Watchtower* stated with explicit reference to the Apostle Paul's words in 1 *Corinthians* 5: 11:

"But now I am writing you to quit *mixing in company* ["not associate," TEV] [*sic*] with anyone called a brother that is a fornicator or a greedy person or an idolater or a reviler or a drunkard or an extortioner, *not even eating with such a man*" (22 -- *italics The Watchtower's*).

Five months after the publication of this passage the Society demonstrated its intention to follow the "letter of the law" to its logical extreme when, after the Governing Body failed to gain consensus on the disfellowshipping of Raymond Franz on apostacy charges involving eight major tenets of faith, a local congregation in Gadsden, Alabama disfellowshipped him for "eating a meal with his benefactor Gregerson" (Ostling 1982: 41). The punitive measures have become refined to the point where one might ask whether the Society delights as much in the process of keeping the Organization "clean" as in the cleanliness itself. "Morality", as suggested by P. D. Ouspensky, is a hallmark of humanity -- a definitive distinction between the works of apes and man,

But at the same time delusions are nowhere more easily created than in the region of morality. Allured by *his own particular morality* and moral gospel, a man forgets the *aim* of moral perfection He begins to see an aim in *morality itself*. Man is charmed with his "niceness." He desires that everyone else should be just as nice as he Then appears delight in morality for morality's sake, a sort of moral sport . . . (Ouspensky [1920] 1970: 206).

When other men fail to "measure up" to such particular standards, fear begins to develop. Even thought must be censured with a form of Orwellian *crimestop* to prevent the contamination of such high ideals. From the depths of moral paranoia comes the expression of moral tyranny. Morality in its most debased form, as unyielding convention, rule and LAW, has pervaded the consciousness of the adult population of the Witnesses with increasing intensity during the last few years and has devolved with equivalent force upon the youth of the membership.

In the case of one family member being disfellowshipped, the same stringent regulations of moral righteousness apply. If the offender is a "minor child" parents are told to care for his *physical needs* and *discipline*, but in other areas of family interaction the wrongdoer is reduced to a silent, nonparticipating appendage. If the individual is a marriage partner, all services are to be reduced to a bare minimum and all "spiritual" discussion is expected to terminate (*The Watchtower* 15 December, 1981: 27-28). That such rules of conduct could effectively destroy all normal family relationships is of no concern to the Society in its quest for unity at all costs. It argues that

such disruptions are not God's (or the Society's) fault, but that "the conduct of the wrongdoer has changed his relationship with Jehovah and therefore with his family who are Jehovah's Witnesses" (*The Watchtower* 15 September, 1981: 27). Such problems, according to *The Watchtower* writers, are to be expected as part of the price one pays for his Christianity. They quote *Matthew* 10: 34-38 to support their position:

Jesus said: "*I came to put, not peace, but a sword. For I came to cause division, with a man against his father, and a daughter against her mother, and a young wife against her mother-in-law. Indeed, a man's enemies will be persons of his own household. He that has greater affection for father or mother than for me is not worthy of me*" (*The Watchtower* 15 September, 1981: 27 [italics not mine]).

In an ongoing act of self-fulfilling prophecy, the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society's leaders bring to life yet another aspect of their symbolic vision within the world of its members. Where, in "this world", is morality in the sense of "group-soul" seeking through reasoned judgments relating to the nature and application of the distinction between right and wrong in the quest for an esthetic, meaningful order? Morality acts within the relationships of power as defined by Cohen to co-ordinate action with both emotion and intellect in the creation of a symbolic

unity which communicates to the believer a sensation of the relation of parts to a whole (Cohen 1969: 226; and Ouspensky [1920] 1970: 206). The aim of morality has been lost, and morality in the vulgarized signification of rule and law has itself become the aim.

The youth of the Organization are the "inheritors" of this "new morality." Within the context of increasingly harsh penalties for increasingly innocuous "crimes," parents are urged to safeguard their children. In the January 1st, 1982 *Watchtower* parents were reminded that "giving attention to both the family's spiritual and material needs is their primary obligation" (18). The Society views the children of its members as a ready source for growth and warns parents pointedly to guard this important "resource":

Yes children require time, attention and money. It has been estimated that it takes thousands of dollars to raise a child to adulthood. A sure way to lose that investment of money, as well as of time, is to fail in giving proper spiritual oversight to those we bring into the world.

... That is the parent's Christian responsibility. Ministers of God will not forget this obligation they have resting on their shoulders (*The Watchtower* 1 January, 1982: 19-20).

The following issue (January 15) was "slanted" towards children, the "mother organization" addressing youth directly.

Parental vigilance is measured in terms of the conviction and energy demonstrated by children, as shown by their "record" in the ministry; spiritual strength being assessed by the number of hours spent in the proselytizing work and the number of magazines or books "placed" from week to week. To "lose" a son or daughter to "the world" is to taint one's personal record; indeed, parents often "cover" the weaknesses of their children to avoid being shamed themselves, and work all the more earnestly in the ministry to offset any perceived slackness among their children. Men and boys are constantly thrust into the forefront of activity in the essentially patriarchal society, despite the fact that they are outnumbered by women almost two to one. The type of pressure on young people is easily demonstrated by reference to the types of questions -- real and rhetorical -- that were asked of youth in a recent *Watchtower* article, "Happy Youth in a Corrupt World":

Do you pursue privileges of Christian service? Do you have a personal goal of putting a certain amount of time in the house-to-house teaching work each week or month? Do you encourage other young people to come with you? Do you have a goal of becoming more capable of teaching during return visits and home Bible studies? Some young people have a yearly goal of being a pioneer (full-time volunteer preacher) during school vacation (15 January 1982: 21).

Even in the eyes of parents, the "bottom line" of faith and commitment in their children is measured in terms of the record card -- hours "put in", magazines "put out", and so on. To come out on top in magazine placements on a given Saturday morning has long been considered something of a *coup*, and with frequent success, a definite plus to the entire family's status and security.

The synchronized manipulation of the carrot of approbation with the big stick of divine retribution is extremely effective in controlling the behaviour of the adult convert who has chosen to relinquish his ties with the world and to obey the Organization in all things in order to attain paradise. It may be argued that the child is even more readily manipulated than the adult, and in a physical sense this is certainly the case. A young child cannot refuse to attend meetings or participate in "field service." However, what cannot be controlled is the young child's unfettered imagination -- an imagination fired by the very vision the Witnesses jealously protect. For example, if a young child, upon hearing that Armageddon will kill all the wicked people of the earth while sparing all the Witnesses, asks, "But how could God

save one Witness on the top floor of a twenty-story building when it explodes?" a stern, fast, "Don't you ever question Jehovah!" will usually bring the discussion to an abrupt halt. One is not supposed to ask such questions. One is not supposed to THINK such questions. According to one 1975 publication of the Witnesses that is precisely how "wickedness" began. With reference to Adam and Eve it states: "They wanted to determine for themselves what was right and what was wrong, relying on their own thinking" (ITGC 1975: 14). Even speculation as to what paradise might be like is *verboden* -- a sin of "presumption" before Jehovah. Most adults comply with the Society's desires that they neither question nor speculate, but often the young child either cannot or will not turn off his imagination.

The natural curiosity of the child frequently leads him into areas long closed to his parents in terms of where the visions of the Society promise to lead the faithful. It also tempts the child to fantasize about the "forbidden fruit" of the world outside the Organization which his parents hold in such disdain. Like Dante's or Milton's depictions of Hell, visions of evil are often more compelling than visions of

holiness. Many wonder why science, literature, dancing, popular music, seasonal festivities and "higher education" are so bad. Since the censure is so severe against entertaining such a line of thought, the child learns at a very young age to keep silent about such concerns. Hence the parents often find themselves genuinely surprised when a child, upon reaching his late teens or early adulthood, "begins to fall away" or simply makes an abrupt departure from the group.

In order to help parents prevent such nasty turns of events, the Organization increases over time its elaborations on the wretchedness of the world outside the Witnesses' own community. If the group were composed strictly of converts, there would be limited need for such an extensive boundary mechanism, since converts in the very act of conversion reject the world of their own accord. But the child must at a young age be taught to view the external world as inimical, hostile and ugly: the "world" is a primary "enemy". The community as a whole makes many enemies as it conceptually and in practice isolates itself from the larger social milieu, and these enemies become an integral asset to the entire

group to be expounded upon by the members in attempting to steer the community's children well away from contact with the external world. "The Enemy" is in fact a category endemic to all human communities because it is a part of the definition of the parameters which establish the "I" and "Thou," the "Self" and "Other," the "Friend" and "Foe." Such designations can be used to denote those who share a true communication in their mutual acceptance of one myth or symbolic system as opposed to those who do not. Thus, to Jehovah's Witnesses, all fellow witnesses are referred to as "The Friends," and there is no room for "enemies" within their community. The friend is one with whom the individual can communicate about mutual concerns within a common framework for understanding his universe -- that is, within the framework of an "institutionalized set of beliefs" (Rokeach 1960: 35). However, since there is no room within their community for "the enemy," the Witnesses are unable to accommodate heterodoxy of any kind; thus the community itself tends to stagnate. As Rollo May remarked, "I need my enemy in my community. He keeps me alert, vital. I need his criticism. Strange to say, I need him to posit myself against Our enemy is as necessary for us as our friends. Both together are part of authentic community" (May 1972: 428).

Within the relatively strict boundaries of the Witness community, one would expect to discover that its members grow within that community's "shared universe" in such a way as to feel "at home" in it. The defection rate, however, does not support such a proposition. While the appeal of the "world-out-there" beyond the parameters of the community could be postulated as an explanation for the high defection rate, the experiences of individuals such as Barbara Harrison indicate that a move into that alien world is often a painful and terrifying experience. Many of those who leave give clear indication that they were "driven" rather than "seduced" away. Certainly the punitive internal discipline must be considered as a fractious element in itself; but even this does not clarify the issue. One is still left wondering how it is that individuals come to loggerheads with their fellows in such a way as to warrant such punishing measures. Ultimately one must look to internal factors to establish the underlying causes for abandonment.

Preserving the unity of the group at the expense of the "exceptions" constitutes the major contemporary challenge to the power of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society and its committed adherents. Expressed in alternative terms, the Society now faces the crisis situation which arises when one brings into juxtaposition the "herd" of Friedrich Nietzsche and the "Single One" of Søren Kierkegaard. The "herd instinct" is precisely "the instinct of the mediocre against the exceptional" (Nietzsche 1968: 157). Within the herd is the "herd animal" which Nietzsche claimed was incapable of leading itself and therefore sought a shepherd -- an acute awareness of which is expressed in the Society's symbolic self-image of "the other sheep" (those destined for earth) and Jesus as "the Shepherd," acting through the offices of his "under-shepherds" in Brooklyn. The "flock" is a symbol of security based on "trustfulness, veneration, and a sense of truth" (Nietzsche 1968: 157-162). And "What," asked Nietzsche, "is true? Where explanation is given which causes us the minimal of spiritual effort" (162). Thus, there is "enormous advantage possessed by this movement, however much cruelty, falseness and

narrow-mindedness have assisted it." In affirming its "Rightness," "the herd instinct speaks. It wants to be master, hence its 'Thou shalt!' -- it will allow value to the individual only from the point of view of the whole, for the sake of the whole; it hates those that detach themselves -- it turns the hatred of all individuals against them" (162). Within the secure environment of the "flock" in which absolute trust is placed and unreserved adoration is expressed for the "Shepherd" there develops a self-feeding paranoia of the outside world and an overwhelming spiritual agoraphobia results when one is forcibly ejected. It is within this context that the outspoken challenges to the herd by dissidents such as James Penton has resulted in his anathematization by the group. "The hatred of these people toward me personally is pathological" he said in an interview with *Alberta Report* (27 February 1981:24).

So far, we have explored the process involved in creating the secure community of "flock." In order to understand this phenomenon more fully, it is necessary to trace the sources and dynamic of breakdown -- to enter the world of the Single Ones. In this sense the "Single One" represents the category of "spirit" in general and of spiritual awakening and revival in

particular. This process occurs as the "Single Ones" try to open the closed system of Brooklyn to allow for change which they perceive to be necessary. As Iredell Jenkins wrote in "Authority: Nature and Locus," "Authority must lie with elements within the society being changed, because only an authority so based can be adequately responsive to and responsible for the value claims of its people":

To "exercise authority" is to perform a function that is radically different from that of "wielding power" or "exerting force." It is possible to install certain individuals or groups in power, and to supply them with sufficient force to suppress opposition. But this is very certainly not to constitute them as authorities; nor does it enable them to direct a process of social reform and modernization. To fill this latter role, they must be accepted by the people who are to be subject to them, and they must be committed to purposes that are shared with this people (Jenkins 1976: 37).

The "Single Ones" recognize that the "moral authority" of Brooklyn can be challenged. But as W. H. Werkmeister wrote in his essay "Moral Authority,"

If their authority is to be challenged successfully, this can be done only through reference to an "authority" that is recognized as unchallengeable; and I submit that this "authority" for the ultimate appeal must be principles rather than persons -- principles upon which the validity of moral judgments depends (1976: 97-98).

One of the main tenets of dogma being challenged by the dissidents within Brooklyn headquarters in 1980 was the notion that only 144,000 were to go to heaven. Note in particular item number two of the April 28, 1980 Memorandum of the Brooklyn Headquarters' Chairman's Committee outlining doctrinal heresies emanating from within the ranks of the Governing Body:

"2. Everyone baptized from Christ's time (C.E. 33) forward to the end should have the heavenly hope. All these should be partaking of the emblems at Memorial time and not just those who claim to be of the anointed remnant" (Penton [unpublished] 41).

It is not surprising in view of this one example that the Governing Body of Jehovah's Witnesses does not recommend study of the Bible except "through" their own literature which clearly steers the reader away from problematic passages of holy writ. And if turmoil currently fomenting within the upper echelons of the organizational structure is any indication of the difficulties which arise when enthusiasm for study is occasioned (as was obviously the case in the preparation of a work such as Raymond Franz' long-term project *Aid To Bible Understanding*) active involvement of

the grass-roots membership could prove to be more destructive to the vision of the Witnesses than any perceived lack of fervor at congregational meetings. In fact one may justifiably conjecture that the Governing Body is itself in a position of needing the support of the masses as it struggles for its own tenuously-maintained affirmation of faith and authority. Perhaps books such as *Commentary on the Book of James* are indications of the Governing Body's desire to have the membership examine doctrine in greater and greater detail to verify, through "joyous participation," the vision of the leaders themselves.

If the latter position is valid, one must ask if the body of doctrine itself has not become more difficult to justify and sustain, and if so why? One obvious explanation for such difficulties could lie in the prophetic disappointment occasioned by the failure of Armageddon to arrive in 1975. A careful examination of related events, however, suggests that this failure alone cannot adequately justify a trend which covers a period beginning *before* the passing of 1975. Most problematic in exploring this entire issue are Memorial records for the period from 1970 to 1981 as set out in Table 20 below:

TABLE 20

Year	Remnant of 144,000
1970	10,526
1971	10,384
1972	10,350
1973	10,523*
1974	10,723*
1975	10,550
1976	10,187
1977	10,080
1978	9,762
1979	9,727
1980	9,564
1981	9,601*

The individuals represented in this chart are those who believe themselves to be of the "Remnant" of 144,000 chosen ones destined to rule in heaven. Their identity was basically fixed as members of Jehovah's Witnesses who were baptized by 1934 when it was announced that a "great crowd of other sheep" would remain on earth throughout eternity (*LEFSG* 1966: 148); therefore, the number of the "Remnant" should decline at an ever-increasing rate with each passing year as its geriatric membership dies off. The numbers followed

by an asterisk in the chart, however, represent an increase in the partakers both during 1980 and in the two years previous to 1975. The Society has always allowed for the possibility that on rare occasions one of this select group could become "unsuitable" to serve with Christ as a "king". If a member of the "Remnant" (such as Raymond Franz) is disfellowshipped, for example, he becomes part of the "Evil Slave Class" rather than the "Faithful and Discreet Slave Class," and hence would be replaced by a member from the ranks of the great crowd in a process not unlike a worker bee taking on the qualities of a queen. The highly speculative book *Life Everlasting in Freedom of the Sons of God* explains:

It is possible that some baptized Christians were added to the anointed remnant, not to increase the number, but to replace any of them who had proved unfaithful to the heavenly calling and who would therefore leave a vacancy to be filled. But despite the bringing in of such ones as replacements, the number of the anointed remnant kept decreasing because more of these died faithful and were taken into the heavenly kingdom than the number of replacements brought in (*LEFSG* 1966: 149).

In the February 1, 1975 *Watchtower*, the Society rationalized a rise in the number partaking:

In fact, for the past 1,900 years Jehovah has been selecting these, for a total of 144,000 members. By now that number appears to be nearly complete([*Italics min*] 84).

But the increases from 1972 to 1973 and again from 1973 to 1974 can also be seen in terms of a statement of dissent -- for the easiest way to give a "protest vote" that the Governing Body will have to deal with is to partake of the emblems at the Memorial. Indeed, there is ample evidence that this is exactly the main reason for periodic rises in that select group. The Witnesses have taken pains to point out that deliberately claiming to be a member of the "Remnant" without actually being "called" by God is a disfellowshipable offence.

Other factors cast doubt on the prophetic failure itself as sole contributor to dissent and schismatic tendencies within the Organization. In his well-researched manuscript, Dr. James Penton notes that before 1975 had expired, disfellowshippings for apostacy were becoming group phenomena. For example, he documents the disfellowshipping of a number of Witnesses from one congregation in Billings, Montana for teaching that the resurrection of Saints had not taken place in 1914 or 1918 as the Society has variously held. Then in 1976, in Washington, twenty-one more Witnesses were purged for openly doubting the Witnesses' beliefs concerning the earthly resurrection (Penton [unpublished]: 37). Obviously, the anomalous fluctuations in the 1973 and 1974 Memorial records could not in themselves have a

direct bearing on disaffection after an anticipated prophetic failure in 1975; rather, the figures indicate the possible challenging of specific tenets of belief not tied to the prophetic failure itself, but to disillusionment concerning deep doctrinal commitments of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society. The critical point of disaffection for many seems to have been not 1975, but the original prophecy of 1966 when the announcement was made of prophetic expectation suggesting the possible realization of the war of Armageddon by a specific date.

As indicated in his comments at assemblies held during 1966, Nathan Knorr was primarily concerned with "numbers" and "growth rates"; but if one refers to the table of growth rates on page 51, it is clear that the overall growth rate of the Organization was in a state of *decline* from 1960 onward. Note that the *numbers* were not yet in decline, but the "rate of growth" was dropping dramatically -- a potentially disastrous trend for an organization which had come to equate growth with Jehovah's blessing. Frederick Franz, his "editorial committee," and the "Board of Directors" had by then reviewed the entire issue of chronology and had determined to their own satisfaction that 1975

really *could* be the ultimate date by which time Armageddon would have to have arrived. As already noted, not all members of the Governing Body approved of the announcement; but Knorr, concerned with falling growth rates, saw in Franz' computations a critical shot of social adrenalin to activate the masses and intensify the preaching activity. If the membership had a specific deadline, there would be increased incentive to work to meet that deadline. Such, apparently, was the method in the Organization's prophetic madness.

That the growth rate *did* pick up indicates that Knorr was correct in his assessment of the numerical result of the prophecy or "suggestion"; it was literally a "calculated risk." The Organization was fully prepared to fight a rearguard action to survive the prophetic failure, if not the war, and certainly prior to 1975, plans were being formulated for the development of improved facilities throughout the world -- an expensive factory expansion program that the average "grass roots" Witness could not understand. However, other problems had been brewing, of which the leaders were probably themselves unaware, long before the brunt of prophetic failure hit with full impact. The

rise in Memorial partakers was the first serious indication that something had gone wrong in the divine scheme of things. What?

From the perspective of the general membership, the 1966 announcement was to have a secondary effect which the leadership had unwittingly overlooked. Armageddon had for decades been projected for the future in the nebulous terms of "soon" and "just around the corner." The membership was constantly reminded that no man could know the day or hour of its coming. If there was no definitive means of verifying the date through the Bible, there was little point in looking for such verification. Franz, by projecting a specific date based on Bible chronology, was in fact telling the masses that the date *could* be verified within the pages of the Bible. For the "great crowd," Armageddon is the single most important event to which they look forward, and apparently they began to seek corroboration for themselves. But instead of finding validation for the arrival of Armageddon in 1975, they found key aspects of the entire chronological matrix and other doctrinal tenets insupportable. According to Penton, many had read integral passages from Revelation and determined to their own satisfaction that the intention of the

Bible was clearly that all Christians from the time of Jesus' death in A.D. 33 were destined for heaven; hence the rise in Memorial "partakers" prior to 1975. Others may have sought to avoid Armageddon by "joining" the Remnant. Suffice to say that when Armageddon failed to arrive by the end of 1975, a well-established quiet revolution began to gain volume.

The Organization once more addressed itself to the anomalous rise in Memorial partakers in February, 1975 as another Memorial celebration approached; the Society feared a continuation of the upward trend. In an article entitled "Anointing to a Heavenly Hope -- How Is It Manifest?" (*The Watchtower* 15 February 1975: 105-111) the Governing Body warned its readers against "mistakenly presuming" a heavenly calling. The writers of the article clearly blamed the increase on the ignorance of the membership as to the nature of the "calling":

What might cause some to assume mistakenly that they are of the anointed ones who should partake of the Memorial emblems? Lack of knowledge could be responsible for someone assuming wrongly that he or she was thus anointed. One may fail to realize that, as with other favors of God, receiving such anointing depends, not upon the one wishing nor upon the one running, but upon God. (Rom. 9: 8, 17; Jas. 1: 18) (107).

The article warns against self-aggrandisement and pride.

The assumption of membership within the ranks of the anointed has always been a matter between the individual and God. It is the one area into which organizational prescriptions have not effectively spread, and the net result of this one last freedom was beginning to raise dissonant noise within the ranks. Perhaps the leaders were indeed ignorant of deeper undercurrents of dissent when they wrote the above article in the early months of 1975, attributing the influx of partakers, in part at least, to the tribal roots of some of the "neo-select" in Africa, who exhibited unbecoming behaviour after partaking of the "blood of Christ" (*The Watchtower* 15 February 1975: 105), and those who wanted self-esteem, and those who had mistakenly experienced "spiritual enlightenment" through drug abuse or fantasizing (107-108). However, when 1975 brought nothing, incontrovertible doctrinal rifts began to emerge and take their toll. The tactics used in trying to stem the spread of these rifts, including mass excommunications, have yet to prove to be effective.

V

*Restructuring the World
When the Symbol Dies*

One of the greatest tests of strength for the symbolic system of Jehovah's Witnesses lies in its continuing influence in the lives of those who have formally abandoned it. The importance of this disaffected group cannot be ignored inasmuch as it constitutes a group at least one half the size of the remaining body of believers.¹ The perceptions of individuals who have rejected the vision are also instructive as to the fundamental processes involved in the disintegration and abandonment of symbolic systems and the subsequent restructuring of the world.

1. In the October, 1981, edition of *The Bible Examiner*, a journal published by the Christian Fellowships International, Jerry Bergman approximates the number of disaffected Witnesses to be one million. My own research based on discrepancies between baptism and publisher records over several decades suggests that this number could be considerably higher, even equaling the remaining two million-plus Witnesses. Bergman's estimate is therefore a conservative one. (Bergman 1981: 13).

Under the provisions recently instituted by the Governing Body to "stamp out these apostates!" (Butt 1981: 1), the term "disassociated" has come to designate formal rejection of the Organization as declared in written missives kept on file in the Brooklyn headquarters. All of the people to be discussed in this section of the dissertation are no longer associated actively with the movement, but many do not qualify as "disassociated" in Brooklyn's definition of the term. Therefore I shall use the term "disaffected" to distinguish between those whose rejection has not been formally declared to the Society, as opposed to those whose rejection has been formally declared.

Virtually all of the disaffected members interviewed were consciously aware of their behaviour being affected by their earlier association with the Witnesses. One of the universal motifs to emerge was the initial struggle to redefine one's own sense of worth. The necessity of this process for most of those interviewed had its roots in the effects of the Witnesses' wedding of Hebraic and Christian values within one system. As children raised within this ethical *menage* they had to

integrate the message of the New Testament -- which emphasizes love and the forgiving qualities of Christ, who urged the smitten to "turn the other cheek" and who himself forgave the sins of the prostitute -- with the Hebraic tradition based on fear of an ethic of restitution which exacts "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." Often these individuals found themselves wondering if the forgiveness of Christ was great enough to cancel all the debts they had amassed under the Hebraic law. Especially was this a problem when one added the weight of "sinning in the heart": "But I say to you that everyone that keeps on looking at a woman so as to have a passion for her has already committed adultery with her in his heart" (*Matthew* 5: 28). The burden of sin thus grew with the exercise of imagination.

Whether one covets sexual freedom which is not rightly his or envies his young school mates their rights to attend a Christmas party, the members of the Organization must convince themselves that Jehovah and Christ will indeed be generous enough to forgive

their sins. Actually, the problem of forgiveness does not rest so much with God as it does with his Organization. The forgiveness of Jehovah is not the issue, as Timothy White noted: "Witnesses who would not balk at giving their lives for their faith are fearful of the three-man-committee who can remove the result of their life's work" (White 1968: 372). Such was the problem described as it existed ten years before the real clampdown began.

Many of those among the disaffected members became so overburdened by guilt and so in fear of the process of confession and anathematization that they began to recoil from the Organization. It was not for several years after their defection that they came to understand that "sin" in the religious sense of the Witnesses was not a universal moral imperative. The Society, in its determination to sustain absolute unity of vision, had all too often destroyed the core of the individual they sought to dominate. Not only were these people left to reconstruct a new world for themselves, they had first to reconstruct and affirm a new self to live within that world.

Concepts of time and space were also critical factors in the restructuring of the world for the

disaffected, as Szykitka noted in regards to his abandoning the Witnesses' vision:

The Witnesses tied up the whole history of the world in one knot. They explained everything.

I had lived my life until the age of twenty-five or -six believing that I was never going to die, or that if I did die in a car crash or something, God would resurrect me and I'd live forever in the New World. I can remember the exact moment when I realized I was not going to live forever. The physical moment: I was working in my office at Bethel and I got up from my desk to go into the file cabinet; I was bending down to get a file, and -- it came out of nowhere -- I said, Hey, you're going to die one day. And in that one second the knot unraveled (Harrison 1978: 97).

World order, world meaning, and self within the world all dissolve in the critical unraveling of human history and the death of personal ontogeny. To define man and his relationship with his world is the primary function of symbolic structure in the mythic sense.

As Paul Ricoeur noted:

The first function of the myths of evil is to embrace mankind as a whole in one ideal history. By means of a time that represents all times, "man" is manifested as a concrete universal (Ricoeur 1967: 162).

As "ideal history" unraveled, the disaffected were caught in existential crises. In their search for new meaning and order the disaffected of the

microsociety began, as had Harrison and Syzkitka, to frequent book stores and libraries -- an activity which often became a nightmare. As Dora explained:

I bought the most ridiculous books -- ridiculous in terms of my total lack of background for understanding them. I started with the Roman philosophers. That really scared me. Maybe I was too dumb to learn anything! By the time I got to university I was so scared of being incapable of learning I worked day and night hoping for a bare pass in each subject. I was utterly astonished when I graduated with an "A" average. I didn't realize until then that maybe -- just maybe -- the world which had been so incomprehensible just four or five years before was beginning to make sense. And I was capable of understanding it.

The phenomenon of "over-achieving" after leaving the Witnesses is not peculiar to Dora. According to Dr. James Penton, who has himself helped many Witness youths into university, there is a pattern of high academic achievement common among them (Correspondence, 14 February, 1982). This pattern is understandable in that these young people are not in university or college primarily to learn a specific job skill; but rather they are there as part of the quest for a meaningful world and the creation of an informed self to inhabit that "new world".

One could reasonably expect that after a long Odyssey of personal discovery and transformation, the effects of the Witnesses' symbolic system would dissipate, but such does not appear to be the case. To paraphrase James Penton, it is permanently branded in one's guts (Correspondence 14 February, 1982). The psychological time-warp created in the transition from eternity to three-score-and-ten continues to haunt the disaffected. In Arthur's words,

We grew up believing that we would live forever -- life had no end and so the possibility of doing things we couldn't do as children was not quite so distressing -- *eventually* there would be time for everything. Suddenly, when you can't go along with the rest of the doctrine and you give up everlasting life in the process, life becomes painfully short. And by short, I mean from both ends. Childhood has been "wasted" and there is relatively little time left before old age and death. The difference between eternity and seventy -- especially when a good chunk of that seventy is already gone -- it's phenomenal!

Other disaffected members agreed with Arthur's description of personal time, and all agreed it continues to have a profound influence on the way they lead their lives. As Colin noted: "We have to live in overdrive to try to recoup the time we wasted as Witnesses." These people joked about their non-Witness acquaintances, who frequently remark that the

way the former Witnesses live their lives is "crazy" -- for many, life is busy and frenetic as they try to "cram in" as many different experiences as possible.

The concern with wasted time was most marked in the case of Eleanor whose defection occurred recently. In Eleanor one can sense the initial anger and bitterness attendant upon the rejection of a system which promises life everlasting. During a recent discussion in the Arbuckle home, Eleanor paced the floor, fretting that she could not enroll in school for three more weeks. She kept repeating, "I can't stand wasting time like this!" The issue of childhood was being discussed on an earlier occasion in the Arbuckle's home when the conversation was interrupted by mutual consent so that Dora and Arthur could watch a television programme on cubism and existentialism. After the show was over, Arthur remarked:

Do you see what we mean? All those ideas were around before we were born but we never heard of them until we were adults. We just missed so much as kids.

When Arthur was asked how many children he thought had been raised with a knowledge of cubism and existentialism, he thought about it for a moment, and then added:

I guess not very many. It's just that we missed so much; we assume that other people who weren't Witnesses had really rich childhoods. And we'll spend the rest of our lives trying to make up for it, despite the fact that we know most "normal" kids probably themselves had limited education in areas such as contemporary thought.

The ongoing search for meaning within this group absorbs much of their attention. These people have created a new world for themselves and have re-established self-worth and self-esteem within that world in a very personal way. As a result they tend to be "loners". Each individual does have a select group of acquaintances but remains wary of close ties with anyone. Colin and Arthur both felt that their independence is a major strength and contributes heavily to their personal success; yet each also admits to an inability to delegate authority effectively. Both felt that if they want a job done right they have to do it themselves, and they attributed this attitude to a basic distrust of other people engendered in them by the Witnesses who fear nothing so much as an independent thought or action. The price each has paid for his own personal "new world" has been high, and each cherishes the liberation that he feels, independently, he has achieved.

Interestingly, this reaction of disaffected youth to the rigors of the organization has been common among the Witnesses ever since Russell's day. Dwight Eisenhower, for example, was raised a "Bible Student" by his zealous mother -- herself a member of the "faithful and discreet slave class." Disillusioned by the sometimes vacillating visions of Russell, he responded to his first taste of freedom late in his teens by applying himself to his studies and to sports. After his graduation from high school in 1909 he worked at a Kansas creamery for a year. When his best friend entered the United States Military Academy at Annapolis, Eisenhower wrote a competitive examination, intending to follow suit; he was accepted into West Point instead, entering the Academy in June, 1911. Although his scholastic standing fluctuated, he remained very popular with fellow cadets and his instructors; when he attended the military equivalent of "grad school" (the Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth), he graduated first out of a class of 275 (See Gunther 1952 and Donovan 1958). Ida, his mother, maintained her belief in the Witnesses until her death. Her letter to Richard Boeckel, a soldier who had become converted to the Jehovah's Witnesses (see following page), was written at the peak of "Ike"'s military career. The rest is history.

Abilene, Kansas.
August-20-'44.

Mr. Richard Boeckel.
35 Garland Drive
Eggertsville. 21, New York.

Dear Sir:-

A friend returning from the United Announcers Convention of Jehovah's witnesses, informs me of meeting you there. I rejoice with you in your privilege of attending such convention.

It has been my good fortune many times in the years gone by to attend these meetings of those faithfully proclaiming the name of Jehovah and his glorious Kingdom which shortly now will pour out its rich blessings over all the earth.

My friend informs me of your desire to have a word from General Eisenhower's mother whom you have been told is one of the witnesses of Jehovah. I am indeed such and what a glorious privilege it has been in association with those of the present time and with those on back through the annals of Biblical history even to Abel.

Generally I have refused such requests because of my desire to avoid all publicity. However, because you are a person of good will towards Jehovah God and his glorious Theocracy I am very happy to write you.

I have been blessed with seven sons of which five are living, all being very good to their mother and I am constrained to believe are very fine in the eyes of those who have learned to know them.

It was always my desire and my effort to raise my boys in the knowledge of and to reverence their Creator. My prayer is that they all may anchor their hope in the New World, the central feature of which is the Kingdom for which all good people have been praying the past two thousand years.

I feel that Dwight my third son will always strive to do his duty with integrity as he sees such duty. I mention him in particular because of your expressed interest in him.

And so as the mother of General Eisenhower and as a witness of and for the Great Jehovah of Hosts (I have been such the past 49 years) I am pleased to write you and to urge you to faithfulness as a companion of and servant with those who "keep the commandments of God and have the testimony of Jesus".

There can be no doubt that what is now called the post-war period is the "one hour" mentioned at Revelations chapters 17 and 18. Ten here being a symbol not of just ten nations but rather of the whole number or all of the nations, then if we have a real League of Nations acting efficiently as a super guide to the nations of earth at the close of this war, should be ample proof.

Mr. Richard Boeckel. #2.

Surely this portends that very soon the glorious Theocracy, the long promised Kingdom of Jehovah the Great God and of his Son the everlasting King will rule the entire earth and pour out manifold blessings upon all peoples who are of good will towards Him. All others will be removed.

Again may I urge your ever faithfulness to these the "Higher Powers" and to the New World now so very near.

Respectfully yours in hope of and as a
fighter for the New World,

Dwight D. Eisenhower

CHAPTER SIX
"NEW WORLDS" COMPETING

I

"The Truth" and "The Lie"

In *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Paulo Freire wrote: "To speak a true word is to transform the world"(1972: 75). First with words, then with actions, Russell and his inheritors have indeed transformed -- in fact created -- the world within which Jehovah's Witnesses have come to live. And as already clearly established in this dissertation, the leaders of this international community have retained the right to speak "the word" as their own exclusive prerogative. They have systematically endeavored to deny members reflective and communicative aspects of the world transforming process, insisting that the believers engage in the "action" only. The net result of this attitude was noted by Freire:

. . . If action is emphasized exclusively, to the detriment of reflection, the word is converted into *activism*. The latter -- action for action's sake -- negates the true praxis and makes dialogue impossible. Either dichotomy, by creating unauthentic forms of existence, creates also unauthentic forms of thought, which reinforce the original dichotomy (Freire 1972: 76).

Behind the decline into *activism* as defined by Freire is man's innate desire or drive to "do something"

which promises to bring his dreams and goals nearer realization. But, as Ouspensky has noted in connection with this drive, which he calls *the pleasure of activity*,

in the passion of activity man is easily inclined to forget the *aim* that started him to act; to accept the activity itself for the aim and even to *sacrifice the aim* in order to preserve the activity. This is seen with especial clearness in the activity of various spiritual movements. Man, starting out in one direction, turns in the opposite one without himself noticing it, and often descends into the abyss thinking that he is scaling the heights (Ouspensky [1920] 1970: 203).

The Governing Body has succeeded in limiting the role of the general membership to mere activism largely through what Freire calls a "banking notion of consciousness" (Freire 1972: 62). The Governing Body sees its role as educator, regulating the way the world enters into the "collective *consciousness*" of the Witnesses, leaving "deposits" of information which both the Society and each member consider to constitute "true knowledge" (Freire 1972: 62-63). In this fashion the "word" of the leaders becomes "the Truth" of the masses whose concerted effort to realize a certain aim is often in danger of eclipse under the charm of the activity itself. As Ouspensky noted, however, "Every spoken word is a lie" ([1920] 1970: 182). Ouspensky was referring in this quotation to the "limiting" quality of the word

as opposed to the "liberating" function considered by Freire. The word therefore becomes "lie" to the extent that it can also confine or restrict one's experience to a limited number of categories or segregations of reality. This concept was expressed by Simone de Beauvoir when she wrote:

. . . The word "lie" has a meaning by opposition to the truth established by men themselves, but Mankind cannot fool itself completely since it is precisely Mankind which creates the criteria of true and false (de Beauvoir 1948: 157).

The point upon which all three of these writers agree is that the conscious awareness of such limitation provides the prime motivating power behind the struggle to achieve expanded or alternate visions of the world.

Considered against the background of grass roots defection and upper echelon factionalism, the sources of dissent and disintegration must be sought in the ongoing struggle for "truth" within the Witnesses' world. The apprehended opposition to "truth" represented by institutions for secular education has already been discussed within the context of enculturation and world-defining functions. From Barbara Harrison's perspective we can now reassess it as a stubborn "rightness" which denies validity to the external world

and to the potentially "liberating words" available therein. Barbara Harrison, herself a Witness from childhood and former Brooklyn Bethel volunteer, stated:

The Witnesses have not seen fit to change their views on education. Why bother with Devil-knowledge? Why imperil your standing with the all-knowing God? To what practical uses can a college education possibly be put? For the Witnesses, all knowledge must be practical, utilitarian Confrontation with metaphysical, philosophical, theological, or moral problems is avoided, as are sociology and psychology ("Inferiority complexes and superiority complexes," an elder once said to me, "are just different terms for selfishness"); Freud and Marx might never have lived. (Emotional problems are the result of "demon influence.") When morality is legislated, there is no reason to discuss nuances -- there are no nuances . . . (Harrison 1978: 95).

Similarly, when the Witnesses seek "Truth" they do not consider alternative realities -- there are no alternative realities. They have become collectively a community of "Right" people who feel they neither need nor desire diverse opinions on the topic of "natural order." This situation in itself is conducive to fractiousness, as Freire noted: "Any situation in which some men prevent others from engaging in the process of inquiry is one of violence" (Freire 1972: 73). The forms which this type of violence take were

discussed by Colin Wilson:

All human beings have a tendency to daydream, to indulge in fantasies that flatter the ego. The Right Man tries to act out his fantasies and uses his authority to force others to support his charade. If, as occasionally happens, he manages to achieve a position of authority, he is likely to become utterly corrupted by self-indulgence, like so many tyrants and dictators of history. He can now indulge his fantasy of being omnipotent; he regards anyone who opposes his will as a criminal who deserves to suffer (Wilson 1978: 182).

Thus, within the consciousness of certain individuals, the compartmentalized fantasy in which they have become involved begins to break down under the burden of insupportable contradiction. One must constantly weigh words of "love" against demonstrations of "hatred," the gospel of "forgiveness" against the rules of "*lex talionis*," and the claims of "freedom of the sons of God" against the excessive "repression" of an Organization that claims to represent God. As "truth" becomes transformed within the consciousness into "lie," the individual must begin to seek new meaning and order. As Walter Szykitka, another former Brooklyn Bethel volunteer, explained,

"I didn't allow internal conflicts to surface till I went to Bethel. Then I felt a certain . . . restlessness. I'd go into bookstores and look for clues, for books that might tell me something, satisfy this

undefined longing; I wanted something to calm the restlessness. I told myself I was haunting bookstores for 'corroborative evidence.' That was bullshit. But it wasn't till I was in my twenties that I could seriously question whether I was prepared to reject a whole world-view that governed every part of my life" (Harrison 1978: 96).

The process involved in the defection of persons like Harrison and Szykitka rarely comes to "contaminate" other members of the group due to a "communication vacuum" which begins to develop as soon as an individual seeks to speak his own words or, more precisely from the Witnesses' standpoint, another language. The fundamental forces operative within the world of the committed member and within that of the seeker after a new truth become too disparate to allow true communication. When the member takes the initial step away from "the Truth" of the Organization, he is immediately presumed to have come under the influence of the Devil. Minds snap shut. Nobody is interested in possible alternative realities. Thus when Arthur Arbuckle took an "unhealthy" interest in academic pursuits, his mother decided to purge her home of all possible sources of "demon influence" -- specifically those dragged home by her son. By the time she had completed her task, exotic memorabilia from Europe and Asia had been immolated. When Kate's mother confessed to an interest in spiritism, a "purge" followed,

for Kate was convinced that even the smallest token from that source could threaten contamination by "demon influences" and result in the "loss" of a child to the Devil. Frequent altercations within the Emerson household are still attributed to the one small item of jewellery which has survived from the family inheritance. Ironically, the possibility of seeking "psychological" reasons for family dissention would be tantamount to dabbling in spiritism; so it is better to blame the Devil directly.

The obsession with "the Devil" as agent for each and every problem or dissonance in life effectively blocks the members from having to face the possibility of alternative explanations for events or ideas which do not support their worldview. Thus, quests for alternative "truths," be they expressed in a simple desire to "whoop it up" in the boondocks or a complex struggle for theological reformation in Brooklyn, are attributed to "demon influence." From this perspective the Organization has effectively reduced the membership to a collectivity of "things" or, more pointedly, "play-things" of the Devil. The Witnesses are denied the possibility of self-thought in their struggle to remain servants of God rather than the pawns of Satan.

Within the theatre of cosmic battle between good and evil, Darren Darset was the first major victim of the micro-society. He experienced the "pain of loss" as a child growing up within a world in which there was room for nothing but service to Jehovah. Driven away by a strong desire to escape the repression of his youth and to enjoy the pleasures of "this world", he eventually found himself in difficulties which led him back to the security of the flock. His childhood experience and knowledge of the world did not prepare him for life outside the Organization and his own excesses eventually brought him back into the only social system for which he was prepared. Other seekers from the micro-society who left after him are more representative of the struggles endured by Harrison and Szykitka -- struggles in which self and world were cautiously and painfully restructured.

Arthur Arbuckle was the oldest of the 1960's "losses". From early childhood he had had a keen interest in science. As long as he could convince his mother that his experiments in zoology were "proving" that evolution could not be true, he was allowed to carry on his personal study. This interest, as is indicated in the ethnographic data, did not lead him

into the formal study of such academic areas as biology and genetics: it remained strictly an extra-mural activity carried on outside the halls of the technical school he was required to attend. Arthur legitimately attempted to show how the Creation myth of the Bible could be supported by practical application of genetics; he gave public talks on the topic of evolution in which he demonstrated (to the satisfaction of the congregation) how impossible the theory of evolution really was. Once the weight of the evidence began to create fissures in the carefully compartmentalized knowledge Arthur had of the world, he kept his questions and doubts to himself. Not only is one in this position in danger of severe social censure; he also runs the risk of having to destroy the world as he knows it and thus of having to restructure it in a lonely, often frightening process.

Arthur had hoped that his overseas venture might allow time and space to "think things through," but the personal pressures in a foreign community were every bit as great as at home. In fact, he now found himself taking on the additional role of congregational scapegoat. Still uncertain after two years what he would do with his life, Arthur headed back to Canada

with probation hanging over his head. Unable to find employment which would help ease the restlessness within, Arthur argued for a return to formal education. The congregation and his mother were upset by Arthur's desire for further education, arguing that he owed it to his mother to work for a few years while living at home in order to support Kate as a full-time pioneer. What difference if his job was dull and boring? Armageddon was "just around the corner" and then the job would be meaningless anyway.

As soon as Arthur's formal probation was over, he enrolled in upgrading and later in the same year began full-time university studies. After four years of "soul-searching" and reformulating the world in which he wished to live, Arthur was prepared to withdraw from the Organization. Social pressures intensified as Arthur's apparent giving in to "demon influences" became more obvious. Arthur and Dora had married by then and moved into a small apartment of their own. In frequent visits, "concerned" Witnesses warned Dora and Arthur of the dangers of "worldly knowledge" and told them pointedly that their small collection of books marked a definite decline into "materialism".

For Dora, problems with the Witnesses' vision began at a very young age. "I can never remember enjoying meetings," she said,

I have very early memories -- early enough that I was still wearing white boots -- of sitting behind a large armchair, breathing quietly, hoping if I were very quiet my parents would forget that there was a meeting that night.

As the years passed, the problem took on new dimensions for Dora:

At nights I would lie awake in bed wondering how long eternity was. I would try to think how many years a zillion was, and then add another infinity to that until I was terrified and drenched in a cold sweat. I was about seven when that started. When I was a bit older I would get up early on Saturdays to watch "Museum of Science" on television. When the show was over I would look up all sorts of things in the Encyclopedia -- a rare treat in any Witness home. By the time my parents got up I would be watching something inane like Mighty Mouse cartoons. This went on for years while I dreamed of going to university to become a scientist.

School, which potentially offers the alternative "truths" and "realities" for which some Witnesses yearn, became the source of nightmarish "disjointedness" for Dora. In the case of young Witnesses convinced that they want to pioneer or go to Bethel after they finish school, the secretarial or technical training they receive is viewed as a means to an end, within which there

is little occasion for dissonance. But for people like Arthur, Colin, Dora and Betty, school was a soul-wrenching experience. As class-mates worked to gain entrance into universities with the support of their parents, these young Witnesses coped with school against a backdrop of domestic hostility and denigration of the value of school. Within the home, Armageddon and paradise were the only dreams allowed for the future. Thus, the alternative truths of formal education beckoned like Odyssean Sirens to the souls of young seekers lashed to the masts of the great troop ship plying the seas toward a paradise they did not really wish to enter. As a result, in Dora's words, "We were caught in a schizophrenic world -- one foot in each of two opposing camps and thoroughly miserable in both."

Dora had begun a casual friendship with Arthur upon his return from overseas. Although she feared "being stuck with a missionary" for the rest of her life, there seemed little hope for an alternative life-style. Just before the couple married, Arthur, tired of the charade, began to state openly his doubts and misgivings about the Witnesses "truth". Dora was relieved to see escape become a distinct possibility; but still the

price to be exacted for freedom was to be high. Arthur had been silently restructuring his own world for several years by the time he began to withdraw from the world of the Witnesses. Dora knew she wanted to leave but had not undergone a restructuring process analogous to Arthur's. For her, the next three years were a "hell of nothingness". She described even the physical world as "dissolving, at times," because she no longer knew how it came to be, why it existed, or why she existed. Without carefully constructed categories of meaning, the world "ceased to exist" for her.

Colin and Betty both departed the group owing to autocratic and totalitarian atmospheres in the home. For Betty in particular, the image of Jehovah as a jealous and vindictive God had become so enmeshed with images of her brutal father that she did not care to live in paradise with either of them. Likewise, Colin had rejected the Witness vision on fundamentally social premises, including the desire to escape the vindictiveness of life within the organization. Colin was not attracted to academic areas of education, but with an innate "business sense" desired to make a mark in the financial world. Such honest admitting to a "materialistic" vision

could not be accommodated within the Witnesses' other-worldly community. Still, Colin, like Arthur, took great pains to leave the Organization in such a manner as to ensure that he would not be disfellowshipped and thus "cut off" from all members of his family. After his probation was over, Colin returned to college for a Business programme and has since become a successful independent entrepreneur. His family persists in criticizing his behaviour; but for Colin, "Life has become a challenge. Business is a game which I enjoy immensely."

The ultimate rejection of the symbolic system is the one aspect of defection which the committed cannot comprehend even as an intellectual possibility. They look forward in absolute faith to the materialization of their vision of a populated paradise in which they shall cavort with lions and no one will ever die. For them, the vision of "God's new order" brings only reassurance and comfort; and so the rejection of the collective vision by the defectors can be understood by them only in passive terms: the defectors are "lazy," or "blinded," or "deceived," or "selfish," or "unable to

understand the gravity of the situation," or "led astray." There are no terms of reference within the Witness world whereby to understand the perspective of Arthur, who stated, "I am basically a recluse. I'd hate living in a world-wide megalopolis where you could never escape watching eyes." Nor could they accept Colin's estimation of paradise: "It promised to be a colossal bore! What's the point of living forever if you could never do anything?" The Witnesses cannot understand how their "truth" could become another man's "lie."

II

*Jehovah's Witnesses and the State
of Their "New World" Today*

The power of Jehovah's Witnesses lies precisely in the sect's ability to control its membership by reference to socio-symbolic proscriptions and prescriptions dictated by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society. The interface between the social and symbolic forces operating in the Society -- as reflected in its publications -- is an important factor in understanding the socio-symbolic dynamic which moves the mass of Jehovah's Witnesses along predictable courses of action consonant with the undulating worldview of the Governing Body in Brooklyn. The extent to which the Witnesses do share a consistent mass worldview is a measure of the power and persuasiveness of the corporate structure of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, acquired through the careful manipulation of symbols which serve to legitimize its position. Jehovah's Witnesses will brook no criticism from within, as many concerned

members who have attempted to voice alternative opinions regarding the basic doctrine or application of social pressure have discovered to their chagrin. Individualism is not tolerated, especially where criticism of the power structures of the Society itself is concerned. Obedience is the key to successful retention of power by the Governing Body; whenever there is a shift in the doctrinal base, a purge of dissident members can be expected as a matter of course.

Behind the power of this Organization to dominate the lives of so many people is the acceptance of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society quite literally as the voice of Jehovah -- God's "mouthpiece." From this carefully cultivated perspective, the Governing Body is seen in much the same way as Moses saw the Burning Bush: as an unapproachable, unchallengeable, inexplicable symbol of the power of Jehovah himself. The Governing Body is composed of flesh-and-blood men, just as Moses' Bush was comprised of leaves and twigs, but the power and glory with which the ruling few are apprehended by the multitudes of Witnesses -- the esteem that these few men in New York receive collectively from over two million participating Witnesses

worldwide -- cannot be explained merely in terms of the sum of the parts. The Witnesses themselves would immediately explain this phenomenon in terms of God channelling "new" or "progressive light" through his "Organization."

Whenever one approaches an alien power system such as that represented by the Witnesses, it is always tempting to dismiss the whole process as one terrific scam -- to regard the leaders of such a sect with the jaundiced eye of scepticism as if they were racketeers deliberately leading the multitudes down the proverbial garden path. Yet however distasteful individual members of the Governing Body may seem to be in terms of personal arrogance and unmitigated chauvinism (the chicanery of Rutherford is a well established historical "fact," and Barbara Harrison was particularly severe on Knorr and lesser lights in the Brooklyn headquarters office), there is little doubt that every member of the Governing Body is absolutely sincere in the belief that they are the ones who have been "chosen" by God to direct the operation of Jehovah's organization on earth.

Several of the "remnant" of the Governing Body have been on the Board of Directors of the Watch

Tower Bible and Tract Society for decades; the current president, F. W. Franz, worked with both Russell and Rutherford, and not only preceded Knorr in terms of conversion, but sat on the Governing Body long before Knorr's arrival (*Yearbook* 1975: 195-196). Others are comparative newcomers, having worked their way up the ranks from the local level. Leo K. Greenlees, for example, began pioneering in Canada in 1931, and subsequently was given difficult pioneering assignments in Montreal and the Maritimes. In 1936, he was invited to join the Bethel staff in Toronto, where years later he became the treasurer for the branch office. In 1964, he was invited to Brooklyn, and subsequently was appointed to a position on the Governing Body. While in Toronto, Greenlees conducted wedding ceremonies for hundreds of young couples, among them Amy and Edgar Emerson and Donna and Gordon Gates, who remember him fondly as sincere, amiable, and avuncular. However they arrived "at the top," members of the Governing Body have been thoroughly tested for faith and sincerity every step of the way. Such a responsibility is a full-time job:

The Governing Body of Jehovah's Witnesses has continued to give a good lead during the service year in caring for the interests of Jehovah's Kingdom earth wide. The

Governing Body holds weekly meetings, with all the committees represented, to discuss matters presented to it by the various Branch Committees and to consider recommendations for appointment of branch personnel and traveling overseers, as well as other business coming before it

Jehovah's favour has been manifest on the Kingdom-preaching and disciple-making work of his name-people during the past service year and all of us are determined to hold "firmly to the faithful word." -- Titus 1: 9; Luke 11: 28

Your brothers,
GOVERNING BODY OF JEHOVAH'S
WITNESSES

(*Yearbook* 1978: 259).

However outsiders may regard the corporate structure in political or business terms, the Witnesses themselves believe -- and have it constantly reaffirmed for them -- that the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society is a theocracy, God ruling through the Governing Body by divine inspiration:

The various corporate religious societies (associated with the principal one, Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania) that have been formed by Jehovah's Witnesses throughout the earth in compliance with the laws of various governments cooperate with the Governing Body in carrying on the evangelizing work commanded by Jesus (*Yearbook* 1978: 258).

In keeping with the theocratic design of the organization, the word "theocratic" is used frequently to describe the mind-set and social deportment of "good"

Witnesses. As we have seen, to be theocratic is to be "good," to be untheocratic is to be "bad." Although the average Witness does not consciously tie being "theocratic" with its implied root word, "theocracy," the implication is that those who are good are ruled by God, or more specifically live their lives in accordance with the will and rules of God, as determined by the Governing Body. In short, anyone who conforms his will to that of the Governing Body is theocratic, good, and shares the hope of salvation in paradise.

The paradise to which all members look forward is "the Kingdom of God," and the Society is perceived to be at the vanguard of that Kingdom. Indeed, Jehovah's Witnesses believe that the nucleus of the Governing Body, all of whom are anointed members of the remnant of the 144,000 chosen ones, will survive Armageddon to set up God's kingdom prior to their resurrection "in the twinkling of an eye" to rule with Christ for a thousand years in heaven. Theocracy, then is already well established as the *modus operandi* of Jehovah's Witnesses.

Once that fact is understood, we can gain some insight into the corporate dynamic that provides the Watch Tower Society with its power -- and its problems. If,

as all Witnesses claim, the Governing Body, as part of the "faithful and discreet slave class," is the *only* voice of God on earth, then its decisions are by definition theocratic, which is to say, "wise and good":

"discreet." Since one of the major functions of the Governing Body (besides writing and editing *The Watchtower* and other publications) is to select individuals who will represent the interests of the Watch Tower Society (and, by implication, God) as "travelling overseers" -- that is to say, men who will communicate directly with the congregations and individual publishers in the circuits or districts assigned to them -- such individuals are, it can be argued, appointed by God's inspiration. The hierarchy of the church is thus exceedingly strong, and the power structure clear: no minor publisher or servant is in a position to challenge the views or opinions of a man higher up the hierarchical ladder, for to challenge someone appointed by the Governing Body is tantamount to challenging God himself. And the masses *do* believe that that "Body" represents Jehovah and provides the keys to the realization of his "promises" of a "New World."

In this manner, not only individuals but congregations are kept in line, or punished, sometimes by the simple act of casting them off:

In 1938 there was another significant organizational development. *The Watchtower* articles "Unity in Action" (May 15) and "Organization" (June 1 and 15) showed that authority to appoint overseers and their assistants did not rest with individual congregations. It was suggested that congregations throughout the world consider a resolution presented in *The Watchtower*, requesting that "The Society" organize the congregation for service and "appoint the various servants thereof," that is, all those who would fill the positions of responsibility locally. (See *The Watchtower* for 1938, pages 169, 182, 183.) Most congregations adopted this resolution, and the few that did not soon lost their spiritual vision and the privileges they had in connection with Kingdom service.

Jehovah, the heavenly Shepherd, makes rich spiritual provisions for his people
 . . . (Yearbook 1975: 166).

One can clearly see how a "suggestion" on the part of the Society soon takes on the force of divine command. Also notable is the complete lack of compassion for any in the abandoned congregations who might in every other way meet "Jehovah's standards." There is almost a glibness, a sense of glee that those who had not gone along with the "suggestion" of the Governing Body had "lost their spiritual vision" and, ergo, all chance at salvation in the Witnesses' paradise.

Absolute obedience to or belief in the "suggestions" of the Governing Body is a central element of the power the organization has acquired over the years, so much so that the 1966 "suggestion" concerning Armageddon's

possible arrival on or before October 1975 immediately took on the quality of "truth." The practical aspects of this manipulation of the symbolic system against the background of absolute belief and social obedience have already been mentioned briefly. The major growth of the Organization from 1,058,675 in 1966 to 2,138,537 in 1976 is directly attributable to this "suggestion"; in fact considering that the growth rate generally is from two- to four-percent per annum, it is highly unlikely that rates of up to thirteen-and-a-half percent would have occurred without the boost injected by the Society's "suggestion." This in itself was a major demonstration of the Organization's power over its membership through symbolic manipulation.

Once such growth had been achieved, the emphasis shifted to one of consolidation of gains by stemming the tide of dissension which swelled within the contemporary Organization and threatened to disintegrate the group from within. In the last five years, the Governing Body has exercised its discretionary power in increasingly totalitarian fashion. In some cases, power is subtly co-opted, as in such matters as the parent-child relationship. Children, as they

mature, are not only the greatest resource for growth, but for dissent as well. After decades of directing articles and books at parents, designed to assist them to regulate the lives of their children, there is a contemporary shift in which the Governing Body is beginning to instruct the youth of the movement more directly. The 1976 publication *Your Youth: Getting the Best Out of It* was ritually presented directly to the younger generation of Witnesses. When this book was first released at conventions around the world, young people were asked to move up into a cordoned-off area at the front of the convention halls so that their attention would be undivided. The contents of this book speak directly to these members. In a more recent publication (*The Watchtower* 15 January, 1982) an article entitled "Happy Youth in a Corrupt World" again speaks directly to young Witnesses, urging them to full-time service:

You may be thinking: '*Oh, I'm too young for all of that!*' But are you? The Bible urges young people -- boys and girls -- to serve God (Psalm 148: 12, 13) (19).

Thus the Society has added yet another function to the central body, that of *in loco parentis*. Inept and vindictive parents result in heavy losses for the Society, which now is trying to minimize the mediating influence of parents so that

personality clashes and domestic hostilities do not lead to rejection of parents and Society as a unit.

As the Society continues to spread its direct influence into the echelons of the younger members, it also cracks down with increasing ferocity on adult dissension -- the very source of which is the totalitarian tactics already operative within the group. In an attempt to recover sagging statistics, the Governing Body began to apply pressure not merely through its publications (which are largely designed for public consumption as well and are therefore inappropriate vehicles for in-house adjustments and exhortations which might imply that Jehovah's Organization is less "inspired" than it seems), but also through its organizational structure. Zone servants were exhorted to apply more pressure on the district servants, who were told to apply more pressure on the congregations. Predictably enough, there was some resistance, and some dropped out. While this was going on, theological rifts were opening within the throne chamber of Brooklyn which are potentially more dangerous to the movement than total civil disobedience among the rank and file. If one considers the eight doctrinal points contested by the dissidents,

one becomes aware that if such major "adjustments" were to be enacted, Jehovah's Witnesses as they are currently known would cease to exist. Briefly enumerated, these points contain statements which hold 1) that God has no earthly organization; 2) that all persons baptized from the time of Christ will go to heaven (and have been doing so since C.E. 33); 3) that no class structure such as a governing body (replete with rules for the masses) has any place in a Christian community; 4) that there is no class structure indicated according to "earthly" or "heavenly" hope; 5) that the number 144,000 is strictly symbolic; 6) that man is *not* living in special "last days"; 7) that 1914 is *not* an "established date" in connection with the second coming of Christ; and 8) that the ancient patriarchs of the Bible are destined for heaven. (Penton [unpublished] 41-42). In assessing the potential effect of such doctrines to the existing world of the Witnesses, James Penton wrote:

These doctrines were of course destructive to the basic theology and organization of the whole Witness movement. But the small study group at Brooklyn was not anxious to harm the Society by creating any sort of open schism. If anything, its members rather naively wanted to remain within the Witness fold which they hoped would ultimately see the wisdom of their new understanding (Penton [unpublished] 40).

Penton conducted interviews with several of those who had been forced to resign from Bethel or had been disfellowshipped:

A number of other "Bethelites" and their wives were then disfellowshipped. Along with his wife Elsie, Rene Vasquez, once the Society's first overseer in Spain and Portugal, was disfellowshipped for apostacy. When he pleaded not to be [apostate], one of the members of his judicial committee ridiculed him by saying that he "was not even a good apostate." Elsie Vasquez was accused of insulting the body of Christ for having celebrated the Lord's Supper at home. Cristobal Sanchez and his wife Norma were also excommunicated after he defended his beliefs boldly. So, too, were Edward Dunlap and a young Bethel electronic media expert, [Mark] Nevegans. Nestor Kuilan, a former missionary and circuit overseer, was disfellowshipped for "covering an apostacy" and was even denied the usual appeal in such cases.

This was only the beginning . . . (Penton [unpublished] 43-44).

What in fact has been happening from the grass roots to the apex of power is a desire to return to "the basics." The potential destructiveness of this move was behind Klein's directive to "get a hobby," if one was inclined towards apostacy, and to "stay away from deep Bible study" As M. M. Penton, an editor of *The Bible Examiner*, and at the time of her writing a member in good standing of Jehovah's Witnesses, sardonically quipped, "Evidently Klein regards the

Bible as a source of apostasy" (*The Bible Examiner* Vol. 1, No. 4, 1981: 14). For her witticism, she was invited in February, 1982, to submit a letter stating that she had "disassociated" herself. In response to a circuit overseer, who had said, "We're going to stamp out these apostates!" Steven Butt rejoined: "So far they have been completely unable to keep it from spreading!" (*TBE* Vol. 1, No. 6, 1981: 6). The search for a more meaningful and humane life is taking many members back to a re-examination of where they have come from as they endeavor to chart a course for the future. As these individuals begin to unravel the knots of Witness history, the world, for them, once more threatens to stop.

Not until the world once more becomes ordered and meaningful through the rediscovery of "symbols of significance" can dissenters achieve the status of self-realized human beings. Power in the development of self-affirmation and corporate affirmation is *transferred* through the medium of spoken, written and ritually enacted communication of "the true word"; but without the underlying symbols of natural order, purpose and destiny there is nothing to say, write or do.

III

*Apprehended Need For
An Alternative "New World"*

The "true" word spoken in the act of bringing about a world-transforming praxis has been effectively banned within the contemporary Society of Jehovah's Witnesses. Under pressures for unity at all costs, the modern community of Witnesses faces the possibility of absolute "collectivism" which threatens to paralyse the human search for "truth" as a vital aspect of life. To allow for reassessment and reaffirmation of its ultimate goals, there must necessarily emerge within any community people who have not been collectivized, people prepared to speak their unpoliticized truth (Buber 1947: 107). The Witnesses would regard such people within their ranks as "the enemy," and would seek to cast them out, for there is no mechanism within the Society for accommodating them. This tendency towards emotional, intellectual, social and theological exclusivity may indeed be the "undoing" of the Society itself, for as Rollo May has written, the enemy is an essential part of "authentic community"-- "I need my enemy in my community I need his criticism":

But beyond what we specifically learn from our enemies, we need them emotionally: our psychic economy cannot get along well without them (May 1972: 428).

The dissonant voices in the community of Witnesses -- the unpoliticized and uncollectivized "mavericks" -- are invariably those who are capable of attaining the necessary psychic distance from their symbolically defined reality to apprehend a need for modification designed to "humanize" their community. This process must occur, as no society can remain static and survive. The so-called "enemies" are ultimately the friends of the community at large as they continue insisting on speaking their "true words," for in them lies the hope of generating either new goals or new ways to obtain old ones. Without those who are bold enough to challenge the community from within, atrophy will set in, the society will atomize, and the society, eventually, will die. Buber wrote:

In every encounter with reality the structure of self and world are interdependently present. The most fundamental expression of this fact is the language which gives man the power to abstract from the concretely given and, after having abstracted from it, to return to it, to interpret and transform it. The most vital being is the being which has the word and is by the word liberated from bondage to the given. In every encounter with reality man

is already beyond this encounter. He knows about it, he compares it, he is tempted by other possibilities, he anticipates the future and remembers the past. This is his freedom, and in this freedom the power of his life consists (Buber 1947: 85).

After the failure of Armageddon to arrive on schedule as "suggested" by the oracular voice of Brooklyn, more and more Witnesses began to search for the significance of their past and to re-evaluate their dreams for the future. Freedom in the liberty of the sons of God had proven to be chimerical, and freedom in the Organization nonexistent. The search for freedom occasioned increased oppression from Brooklyn. Symptomatic of this situation was the position of several Witnesses in Southern Alberta, who, failing to find appropriate channels to air their views within the Organization, decided to take their case to court.

The main protagonist in this incident was Dr. Penton, Professor of Religious History at the University of Lethbridge. The Penton family has an historical association with the group which dates back to the early years of Russell:

His [James Penton's] great-grandfather, Henry Penton, was one of the founding members of the first group in New York State, over a century ago. He himself

was raised in the church, and for years was one of its most distinguished members and apologists (*Alberta Report*, 27 February, 1981: 24).

There is nothing unique in Penton's present situation, as an article in the *Toronto Star*, February 14, 1981, noted:

His suit is only one of a number of such cases pending hearings both here and in the United States in the face of a tough new crackdown on dissent by the Witnesses [sic] central authority in Brooklyn, New York (*Toronto Star*, 14 February, 1981: A5).

Penton's case is, however, worth pursuing in that it is diagnostic of internal problems now being experienced throughout the international Witness community, and in that Penton and his close associates have formed an "alternative" Christian Fellowship which claims support from disaffected Witnesses around the world.

In November, 1980, Penton, author of *Jehovah's Witnesses in Canada -- Champions of Freedom of Speech and Worship*, a book recognized and paraphrased at some length in the 1979 *yearbook* (See page 124), filed a suit against the Witnesses for defamation. Named in the suit were the circuit overseer for Southern Alberta (A. F. Danley), the Brooklyn Governing Body, and the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society:

He [Penton] and some others, critical of what they saw as increasingly harsh discipline, suggested to local elders and to the Brooklyn governing body that in view of decreasing membership, if for no other reason, a less severe stand would be wise. Thereupon, says Dr. Penton's statement of claim, Mr. Danley at a January 6 [1980] joint congregation meeting cited him, by innuendo and implication, as the leader of a group of blasphemers and apostates (*Alberta Report*, 21 November, 1980: 24).

When no apology was forthcoming, Dr. Penton took the matter to court, claiming damages for "false remarks and slander, for financial loss, and for the elders' failure to protect his rights within the church."

The article continued:

The unpleasantness among the always strict, evangelistically zealous Jehovah Witnesses appears to be on the increase since 1975, the year in which the world failed to come to an end in accordance with Watch Tower prophecies. Observers estimate that some 145,000 left the church in 1976, and 125,000 last year. Most of these simply quit, but disfellowships [*sic*] may be on the increase also, as the Brooklyn governors try to tighten discipline among congregations and increase the door-to-door and street corner evangelism for which the Witnesses are famous.

Robert Alexander, who resigned this spring as ministerial servant to the Westminster congregation in Lethbridge, says that at least 30 members are now planning to drop out of that City's three congregations. He blames the governors. "The only thing that Brooklyn is concerned about is numbers. They see enrollment going down and they blame the congregations for not working hard enough" (*Alberta Report*, 21 November, 1980: 24).

Predictably, Dr. Penton was charged with "heresy," and was summarily disfellowshipped in February, 1981 after he failed to show up for a "judicial committee" that had requested Penton "to answer for views repugnant to the Watchtower Society" (*Alberta Report*, 21 November, 1980: 24). Penton had refused to attend the hearing because he had been denied the right to make the hearing public, to bring legal representation, and to call testimony.

In an organization as "theocratic" as that of the Witnesses, any call to outside legal intervention was in itself tantamount to rejecting the authority and divine inspiration of Jehovah's Organization. As former Lethbridge overseer John Poole remarked, the Witnesses cannot stand open defiance and publicity: "They've always enjoyed a privileged position in having the victim obedient even to taking punishment" (*Alberta Report*, 27 February, 1981: 25). "They do what their leaders tell them," Dr. Penton added, describing the procedure of judicial committees as "the worst kind of kangaroo court" (*Alberta Report*, 27 February, 1981: 26). The masses marshalled behind the organization without query or hesitation. When the announcement of Penton's trial was announced

in the *Toronto Star* informing the readership that a Witness was suing the Organization \$130,000.00 in reparations, the reaction among Witnesses totally ignorant of the circumstances was uniform: "Is the man mad?", "The Society will never let him get away with that!", and "No one can sue the Organization." Penton was as good as disfellowshipped in their eyes, a pariah no longer fit to mention. His "trial" was still three days away, yet he was already condemned. Distant readers proved to be right on both counts. Penton was indeed disfellowshipped, and he was ultimately unable to sue "the Society". The Governing Body managed to have itself removed from the claim. Then the district overseer was removed from his position of authority, and Penton found himself suing an impecunious pawn.

Thus the rifts within the Lethbridge Witness community came to public light -- rifts mirrored throughout the North American Continent, England, Scandinavia and continental Europe. The problem had been brewing for years before, however.

The final catalyst of the disfellowshipping spree in Lethbridge was the increasingly restrictive measures placed on the remaining congregation in respect to its treatment of disfellowshipped persons. One of the disfellowshipped people whom Dr. Penton had sought to help in spite of the Organization's insistence upon total ostracism was Marjorie Sutherland, a Witness of eight years' standing married to an unbeliever, who was raising her six adopted children in the faith.

In 1973, however, during a campaign against drug use, the Watch Tower announced a ban on cigarette smoking of all kinds. Mrs. Sutherland found she couldn't quit last year when her husband of 30 years was in hospital dying of cancer; Marjorie Sutherland was disfellowed [sic] for smoking and shunned by the Pincher Creek, Alberta, congregation. By this time, she says, her only close friends were Witnesses. "I would meet them on the street and they wouldn't say hello." Her 17-year-old son was told to avoid talking to her although they lived in the same house. When her husband died, the only Jehovah's Witness official to offer sympathy and help, or even speak to her, was Dr. Penton who was then still an elder (*Alberta Report*, 21 November 1980: 24).

Such draconian tactics are taking their toll. To date, the silent majority still follows to the letter the dictates of the Organization and closes rank on all dissenters in their fervent desire to "survive Armageddon

into God's new world." For one million others the challenge is to build other, more meaningful "new worlds" out of the wreckage and disillusionment of an optimistic vision turned nightmare.

The Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society's history of schisms is often obscure and full of conflicting records of events; the Society has survived no less than twenty-seven factional crises in the last century. The current crisis is of particular interest, however, because there is a movement afoot to reorganize dissident members, and re-order Brooklyn's empire as well. Unlike the disaffected of the last generation -- including those of the micro-society, and Harrison, and Syskitka -- the current generation of "disinherited souls" appear prepared to wheel on the oppressor in their struggle for liberation. Penton has found that, although the Witnesses are champions of freedom of speech and worship where their own interests are concerned as they relate to the larger world, they are fanatical repressors of freedom of speech and worship within their own house. Now, dissidents appear prepared to insist on collecting personally the "unpaid bills" of the Witness Church.

IV

Creating the Alternative

Dissident members of the Jehovah's Witnesses are at present undergoing a renewed search for freedom -- freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of action, and freedom of worship. Supposedly, "freedom" was one major factor in their original association with the Witnesses, or at least in that of their parents. As George Richardson noted:

New sects all start with profuse professions of LIBERTY, because usually their members are excluded by someone else. But they, too, end up the most full-blown bigots because they do not really determine what true freedom means and, therefore, do not hold to it (Richardson in *The Bible Examiner*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1981: 4).

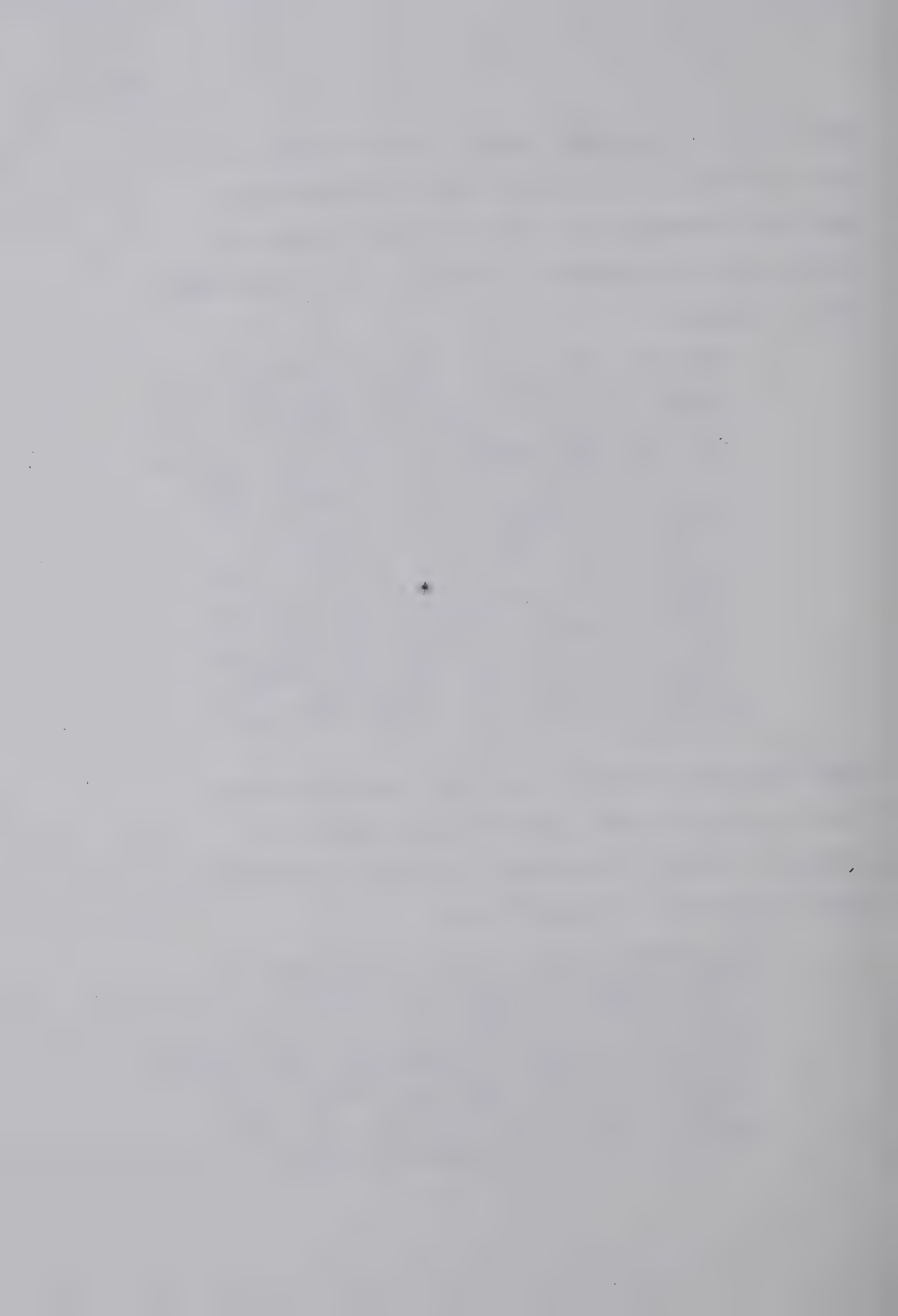
The fall from "liberty" into "slavery" is endemic in political institutions as well as religious ones, and warrants careful examination. For dissident Witnesses today, the search for their "loss of freedom" has taken them back to the works of their charismatic founder, Charles Taze Russell. Many who have experienced the oppressiveness of the contemporary Society are shocked to discover that Russell himself warned against the dangers of transforming the loosely-knit collection of

"ecclesias" of his day into an "Organization". In fact Russell was a vocal advocate of liberty, and despised denominational and sectarian boundaries which served to divide the Christian community rather than to unite it:

The real need of the Church of Christ is still more liberty -- until each individual member shall stand free and independent of all human bonds, creeds, confessions, etc. With each individual Christian standing fast in the liberty wherewith he was made free by the Lord (Galatians 5: 1; John 8: 32), and each individual Christian united in loyalty to his Word, very quickly the original unity which the Scriptures inculcated would be discerned and all true children of God, all members of the New Creation, would find themselves drawn to each other by the cords of love far more strongly than are men bound in earthly systems and societies (White 1968, from *Studies in the Scriptures* Vol. VI, page 242: 121).

While the above passage might lead some to accuse Russell of "wild-eyed" idealism, his vision of "organization" as a potential oppressor was explicit and he argued his point at length:

We belong to NO *earthly organization* --
 We adhere only to that *heavenly organization* --
 'whose names are written in heaven.'
 (Hebrews 12: 23; Luke 10: 20). All the saints now living, or that have lived during this age, belonged to OUR CHURCH ORGANIZATION: such are all ONE Church and there is NO OTHER recognized by the Lord. Hence any earthly organization which in the least interferes with this union of saints is



contrary to the teachings of Scripture and opposed to the Lord's will -- 'that they may be ONE.' (*Zion's Watch Tower and Herald of Christ's Presence* February 1884: 1, 2).

The propensity for factionalism within the Christian community was a major concern for Russell and he took care in his Last Will and Testament to safeguard the International Bible Students' Association from sectarianism (See Appendix B). In 1915, just months before his death, he pleaded his case one last time:

I think that if the International Bible Students' Association can be shown to be a section of Babylon we all ought to get out of it If anyone can tell me how he got into the Babylon by getting interested in the affairs of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, let him show me how he will jump and I will jump with him (*The Watchtower and Herald of Christ's Presence* 15 July 1915: 218, 219).

One million dissident Witnesses have already left the Organization, and in an attempt to stem the tide, the contemporary leadership has sought to justify alterations made over the years:

Things published were not perfect in the days of Charles Taze Russell, first president of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society; nor were they perfect in the days of J. F. Rutherford, the succeeding president. The increasing light on God's Word as well as facts of history have repeatedly required that adjustments of one kind or another be made down to the very present time. But let us never forget that the motives of this "slave" were always pure, unselfish; at all times it has been well-meaning (*The Watchtower* 1 March 1979: 23-24).

In view of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society's original anti-sectarian stance, many former Witnesses now ask how the group became so exclusivist and punitive. Historical documentation indicates that things began to go astray when Rutherford's usurpation of the designated election process brought him into office (White 1968: 147-153, 170-173). Rutherford dismissed the editorial committee, took over *The Watchtower* personally and began to publish a second magazine (which became the *Awake!*) in order to fund his expansion plans (White 1968: 173). He finally overstepped his bounds when he encouraged the membership to "Let there be praise and thanksgiving to God for the promised glorious outcome of the war" on page 174 of the June 1st *Watchtower* of 1918. He was also actively encouraging the basically pacifist membership to invest in Government bonds needed to support the final thrust of the war effort. A large number of "pilgrims" had already left the "revitalized" organization when a prophecy predicting the fall of organized religion by April 25, 1918 failed to materialize. Timothy White wrote:

The date April 27th, 1918, was said to be the last day God's favor had rested on the Watch Tower Society, and the following day it deflected into compromise and fell from grace (White 1968:168).

From that date on, the primary goal of the Watch Tower leadership was corporate expansion, and as we have seen, God became embedded within the Governing Body itself in a process which passed through mystification to deification. This was the critical shift in the Society's historical development, for it ceased to care pointedly about the individual and began to seek greater numbers of members for the sake of the statistics themselves rather than for the sake of the persons comprising the statistics. In searching for the causes of a decline into oppressiveness, the dissident members of the Witness movement are of the opinion that liberation died when God and man merged in a vindictive Governing Body and the simple message of Christ's Gospel got lost in the shuffle.

The importance of the Gospel cannot be ignored here. A perceived need to return to the basic message has resulted in many dissidents turning away from the "world" represented by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, which they see as being brutally legalistic as it tries to shepherd its flock along the road to salvation and "liberty in the sons of God" by applying some 1,177 consitutional regulations and a mass of vacillating social bylaws -- more "Laws" than in either Leviticus or Deuteronomy. Not

that the dissidents challenge the need for *order*, but rather what *kind* of order, and for what *purpose*. Martin Buber saw the need for order as a goal itself rather than as a means to an end:

The true history of a commonwealth must be understood as its striving to reach the order suited to it. This striving, this wrestling for the realization of true order -- wrestling between ideas, plans, outlines of true order that are so different, but also a wrestling that is simultaneously common to them all, not known, not to be expressed -- constitutes the political structure's dynamic order. An order is gained and established again and again as a result (Buber 1947: 99).

The achievement of right order is also the achievement of *community*, and within community, the achievement of self-affirmation. Traditionally, communication involved in self-affirmation takes place within the confines of "community," simply defined by May as a group in which free conversation can take place. "Community is where I can share my inner-most thoughts, bring out the depths of my own feelings, and know they will be understood" (May 1972: 247). From May's perspective, then, the will to power within the individual is "neither 'will' nor 'power' in the competitive sense of the modern day, but rather self actualization" (May 1972: 20).

The epitome of "self-actualization" for the Witnesses is "Bethel Service," which is described as "whole-souled service" to God and the Organization (OKPD 1972: 145). But for many within Bethel -- and to any objective observer from outside the Organization -- Bethel service is a form of slavery, intolerably demanding, with few tangible rewards. Factory workers are paid a pittance (for years their "allowance" has been pegged at twenty dollars a month (JWTC 1978: 9)), and yet their duties are arduous by any contemporary standard:

Bethel family members start their day's activity early. Gathered at the breakfast table, they enjoy a thorough discussion of the day's Scripture text and comments. After breakfast they go to their assigned work, at which they spend at least 8 hours and 40 minutes a day for five days of the week, and four hours on Saturdays. Monday evenings the members of the family study the *Watchtower* lesson for the week and attend the family's Theocratic Ministry School. Other evenings as well as Saturday afternoon and Sunday are used for attending congregation meetings, sharing in the field ministry and attending to personal matters. Those who have been appointed as elders at Bethel also have the privilege of giving public talks in nearby congregations. The schedule is a full one (OKPD 1972: 146).

The minimum term for Bethel service is four years, "but any who can do so are encouraged to stay beyond that and make service at Bethel their life's work." Each year, "time is also allowed for a two-week vacation, and three weeks for those who have served for twenty years."

The only "fringe benefits" that the Bethel workers receive are "spiritual":

Bethel is a marvelous place to serve. In such a theocratic atmosphere as exists at Bethel homes there is excellent opportunity for spiritual growth. It is richly rewarding to work all day in association with others who love Jehovah and to know that one's work benefits so many of Jehovah's people (OKPD 1972: 147).

As Jerry Bergman remarked in *The Bible Examiner*, Bethel workers receive a certain amount of social prestige as well:

Even if a Witness swept Bethel's floors ten years ago, he is still a Bethelite and that is seen as somehow more righteous, holy and knowledgeable of God's laws than a non-Bethelite (Vol. 1, No. 4, October 1981: 12).

Despite the Society's claim that Bethel is "a marvelous place to serve," more and more volunteer workers have left the ranks of the factory workers in disillusionment and, occasionally, disgrace, bringing with them tales of witch hunts conducted within the Brooklyn Bethel. Among these, Randy Watters and Robert Sullivan were the most outspoken; they prepared cassette tapes and brochures outlining salient details of their voluntarily quitting Bethel and eventually quitting the Organization altogether. The Society has neither acknowledged nor denied Watters' allegations, which were outlined most succinctly in an eight-page brochure, *What Happened at the World Headquarters of Jehovah's Witnesses in the Spring of 1980?* James Penton has since documented most of the allegations. According

to Watters and Sullivan, the trouble began in the late sixties when an editorial committee of three researchers, led by Raymond Franz, were commissioned by Nathan Knorr, the president of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, to compile the Bible encyclopedia that came to be known as *Aid to Bible Understanding* (1969; 1971). Knorr gave the committee a free hand to read the Bible without reference to Watch Tower publications, and if they came up with any "new light" -- or deviations from Watch Tower doctrine -- they were to inform the Governing Body. Among other things, the trio discovered that the early Christian congregation had a body of elders, and such a body was subsequently introduced at the congregation level worldwide. But the area that gave the committee most difficulty was that of Bible chronology. They came to realize that the date 607 BC was of questionable significance and was probably inaccurate (Watters and Sullivan 1981: Tape). Unfortunately, most of the Bible chronology accepted by the Witnesses hinges on this date, including the all-important 1914. Rather than accept any expressed reservations concerning that date, the Governing Body chose to retrench instead; to challenge the Watch Tower interpretation of Bible chronology was to challenge the entire framework of doctrine and belief.

When 1975 came and went, and pressure mounted on the Governing Body to come up with an explanation, Franz and the other members of his committee went back to the drawing boards in an attempt to provide a scriptural chronological explanation. They came to the conclusion, privately, that several aspects of Witness doctrine did not seem to be supportable from a scriptural standpoint. Instead of voicing their doubts, they met secretly and in small groups to study the Bible itself -- usually on Monday nights (Watters and Sullivan 1981: Tape). This process continued for many months. Then, in 1980, Raymond Franz took a leave of absence from Bethel -- certainly not a common course of action for one on the Governing Body -- ostensibly to rest and "ease his internal strain," as *Time* magazine reported:

On May 21, Franz was summoned to Brooklyn for a fateful grilling by his Governing Body colleagues. Did he doubt that Jehovah had only one chosen organization? Did he question the official End-times chronology? Franz sought to avoid confrontation but could "only bend so far." It was not enough. Opponents were unable to get a two-thirds majority for his disfellowshipping on the spot, but he was forced to resign from Bethel. In all, about a dozen officials were purged, almost certainly the worst doctrinal crisis Watch Tower headquarters has ever faced (Ostling 1982: 40).

Watters explained the process the Governing Body used in order to "incriminate" Franz:

A special committee was established to extract confessions of all of his close friends and acquaintances, in order to determine everything he had ever said in private that could be used against him. For two weeks these committees intimidated members of the Bethel family and recorded their confessions

Several others were subjected to long hours of intense interrogation as the "Watchtower committees" set up series of "special questions" to ask any person suspected of talking about what was going on in the Governing Body (Watters 1981: 4).

Several of the "officials" were treated even more shabbily than Franz, according to both Watters and Sullivan; several husband and wife teams were disfellowshipped (including Rene and Elsie Vasquez and Cristobal and Norma Sanchez); Nestor Kuilan was denied an appeal after being disfellowshipped "for covering an apostasy" (Watters and Sullivan 1981: Tape; Penton [unpublished] 43 - 44).

Watters continued:

In the following weeks and months I noticed that the members of the Governing Body minced no words in slandering and name-calling such individuals, and being careful not to mention their names for legal reasons. They were called "spiritual fornicators," "mentally diseased" and "insane"; they were said to be following the "teaching of demons" and that they were "adding to the scriptures." In one committee meeting where a married couple who had faithfully served for decades was disfellowshipped, one MEMBER OF THE GOVERNING BODY called them "suckers" and "liars." One poor fellow had his phone calls redirected through the "service department" to check up on outside connections. "Spies" were everywhere, and many members of the family would turn in even their own friends for suspicion of "apostasy" (1981:4).

According to Penton, Albert Schroeder, one of the Governing Body, "decreed that no more than two persons at a time could in future meet for private study at Bethel"

([unpublished]: 47). Watters and Sullivan declared that most of the Bethelites were ruled by fear during the period of inquisition -- a view supported by Raymond Franz, who in an interview with Bob MacEwan on CBC's public affairs program *Fifth Estate* (on March 16, 1982) said of the Brooklyn Headquarters, "There is only one motive, only one emotion here: fear." Unfortunately, fear has become the primary mystification process used by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society -- fear of punishment, especially of social ostracism from the only friends many would-be dissident Witnesses have ever had. Furthermore, since the Witnesses are required to believe that the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society is the eyes and ears as well as the voice of God, many are confounded by any close scrutiny from that quarter; it might just as well be God himself who is levelling the accusation.

Simone de Beauvoir wrote in 1948, "The slave is submissive when one has succeeded in mystifying him in such a way that his situation does not seem to him to be imposed by men, but to be immediately given by nature, by the gods, by the powers against whom revolt has no meaning"

(de Beauvoir 1948: 85). Interestingly, the Witnesses refer to the core group of the Watch Tower Society as the "faithful and discreet slave":

Jesus Christ has been true to his promise. He has been with his Christian congregation as represented by that "slave" from the time that he ascended into heaven down to this very day. Jehovah's spirit does indeed rest richly upon that "slave" and those associated with it, as they keep obeying the commands to preach the good news of the Kingdom and to make disciples (*The Watchtower* 1 March 1979: 24).

Many within Bethel have come to believe that it is those who are "associated" with the "faithful and discreet slave" who are *de facto* slaves in deBeauvoir's sense of the word. Increasingly, the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society is seen to be a gerontocratic slave ship that allows itself to tack towards a postulated paradise, mystifying its followers by speaking as an oracle from God:

Because of this hope, the "faithful and discreet slave" has alerted all of God's people to the sign of the times indicating the nearness of God's Kingdom rule. In this regard, however, it must be observed that this "faithful and discreet slave" was never inspired, never perfect. Those writings by certain members of the "slave" class that came to form the Christian part of God's Word were inspired and infallible, but that is not true of other writings since (*The Watchtower* 1 March 1979: 23).

However, "that 'slave,' on the one hand, makes the 'sayings of everlasting life' understandable to us and, on the other hand, helps us as we apply those 'sayings' in our lives" (25).

Whereas the Witnesses curb enthusiasm of youth for academic interests counter to their philosophy, the dissidents encourage those seeking to understand the Organization to read Watchtower literature copiously, in the belief that the Society's contradictions will reveal themselves in due course. The Society has thus become its own worst enemy. Note this "description" of "Bethel" taken *verbatim* from the pages of the illfated and at times unwittingly prophetic Witness publication *Aid to Bible Understanding*:

. . . Bethel became a symbol of rank apostasy from true worship (1 Ki. 12: 31-33). Jehovah God did not delay in expressing this disapproval through "a man of God" sent to Bethel to foretell its future desolation, and by ripping Bethel's altar apart Despite these warnings, Bethel continued as an idolatrous sanctuary Thus Jeremiah, over a century later, could refer to it as a warning example to those trusting in false gods to their eventual shame (1971: 220).

The debate continues while the grass-roots membership struggles to maintain its secure "thematic universe." While the dissidents seek to stimulate alterations in Brooklyn's perspective and subsequent use of authority, the Governing Body has entrenched to resist any form of change. The final outcome in this human quest for meaning lies in the action of men stipulated by the symbolic visions of purpose and order perceived by each faction to represent truth.

V

Conclusion

Culture, in its most radical definition, is man's knowledge of the world and of himself within the world. From an objective point of view the world within which Jehovah's Witnesses have come to live and from which many now seek to escape is a strange and alien land. Throughout the pages of this dissertation a journey has been conducted into the centre of the Witnesses' "thematic universe" and back out again, not only from the perspective of an objective observer, but also from that of a participant in "the New World Society" for whom that cosmos constitutes a significant world. The journey was unusual from an anthropological perspective because it did not take the researcher into a "foreign" society existing in isolation from the western sphere of influence, nor into one in which conflict has arisen from uninvited direct interaction with a competing external power.

In his book, *Moonwebs: Journey into the Mind of a Cult*, Josh Freed made several salient comments upon the larger western society itself which has contributed to the need for cult and sectarian identity. First, he noted that the "chaotic world of multiple choices" offered within the context of western society differs dramatically from the relatively closed and isolated societies of the tribe or band:

Perhaps people who can think independently of the society around them have never been very common -- but rarely has this ability been so essential as today. In the past, a young person emerging from childhood entered a relatively close-knit society that was largely supportive of the way he or she has been raised. Traditional expectations of a spouse, a job and a way of life made available choices limited and relatively simple -- without much need for independent thought. Barring disaster, the culture around him would undergo few major changes during his lifetime; if it did, he could rely on the traditional models set by religion, family, government and other institutions to help him adapt (1980: 204-205).

In answering such personal questions as which life-style to choose, what occupation to pursue, and what identity to develop, people in the Western World are often ill-equipped. Like the Witnesses themselves, most people are exposed to banking systems of education which fill us with the values of the broader culture while demanding little initiative in decision-making(204).

Within the western tradition there exists, despite our ideal democratic roots, a deep authoritarian temper which informs our conscious perspective of "right" and "wrong." Against copious protestations of individual freedom, "might," all too often "is right." As Freed elaborated:

Even in peacetime there are strong indications that the . . . submissive mentality is latent in North Americans. The need to obey authority is hammered into us from an early age on this continent -- often regardless of whether that authority is right or not. Foreign policy is something we must generally go along with, because "we don't know the facts." Doctors, lawyers, parents, and teachers must be obeyed because they have titles -- even if one suspects they are wrong (Freed 1980: 200).

Compounding the problem of increasing pressures for conformity and standardization is the use of mass media advertising designed expressly to make people feel dissatisfied with what they have, and often with who they are (204). The western cultural milieu makes the search for an esthetic and secure sense of meaning within a harmoniously orchestrated "thematic universe" a difficult challenge indeed.

The sectarian community, like other economic and class institutions, attracts adherents by offering the possibility of a more "ideal community" in which the individual may enjoy a secure sense of identity,

meaningful participation, and hope for a better world. Such institutions serve as liberating mechanisms for those who find themselves over-burdened or lost within the broader, multiple-choice society in which they seem never "to get ahead," and within which they cannot develop a satisfying sense of the meaning of life. Unfortunately, the apparent "liberator" can rapidly become the new oppressor:

Violence in the name of freedom; violence in the name of love; the Gospel of Christianity with sword in hand; the stakes of the Inquisition for the glory of a God of Mercy; the oppression of thought and speech on the part of the ministers of *religion* -- all these are incarnated absurdities of which humanity only is capable (Ouspensky [1920] 1970: 203).

How and why this occurs are critical questions, not just for the enquiring anthropologist but for the broader population which daily is assaulted with barrages of information bullying individuals one way or the other to opt for this type of education or that type of career, this political party or that religion.

The sectarian group is one institution which promises to put an end to unanswered questions. The "thematic universe" of the Witnesses categorically defines the origins, purpose and destiny of man as well

as providing the means of securing the goal envisioned as the ultimate destiny. For those who seek such a "packaged" system of belief to answer these fundamental questions of existence, all of history, and *destiny*, is tied in a knot. Their clearly defined vision of what man and God are about in the world enables the Witnesses to experience a sense of liberation from the oppression of ambiguity and meaninglessness pervasive throughout the larger society. The Witnesses' "symbols of freedom" bypass and transcend all existing "worldly authority," and hence break the hold those "worldly" bonds have on the individual consciousness. In seeking answers as to why the 'liberator' has become the oppressor, resulting in the disaffection of one-third of the membership over the past few years, we must not fall prey to the facile explanation that the system was bound to break down because it was based on a "kooky" doctrine in the first place; doctrinal dissonance is but one aspect of the "sloughing off" of the membership. Social oppression and the loss of intellectual and spiritual freedom as well as the right to voice those concerns are in fact equally important factors in the problems now being experienced as part of the overall oppressiveness of the once-liberating vision.

One critical factor pertaining to transformation (or lack thereof) is the forced arrestment of development in both doctrine and social action which has resulted from the basic premise that all the answers have already been found. As Ouspensky reminded his readers:

This idea is expressed in the precept:
*Seek . . . the kingdom of God and his
 righteousness* It does not say find;
 but merely, seek! (Ouspensky [1920] 1970:
 207).

Oppression is therefore, not only the active application of restrictive "rules" and "laws," but the coercive halting of all potential growth.

In order to analyse the power dynamics within this social situation, it has been necessary to "decode" the "thematic universe" into its constituent aspects, to unravel the interacting themes which comprise the existential world within which they function through men-world relationships. From this perspective we may "re-present" those constituent elements as "problems" demanding resolution, for ultimately, that is precisely what they present from the viewpoint of the participants within that world. Each element has become overlain with layer after layer of additional prescribed signification with the passing years, resulting in the

complication of what was originally a simple and straightforward message of liberation. Once the themes have thus been re-presented, the manner in which men have responded to them emotionally and intellectually must be considered.

One obvious place in which to seek the fundamental causes of increasing authoritarianism and stagnation is in the leadership of the institution. Much can be made of personal empire-building and "power-tripping" on the part of individuals in positions of authority, but this does not inform us as to how those individuals came within the context of a liberating system to wield such awesome power over the membership. At this point in the analysis we come to a head-on confrontation with one of man's most persistent dilemmas: How does one achieve a vision of "good society," and develop the necessary solidarity of "community" as a social composite mobilized for the purpose of achieving that good society, without falling prey to the vicissitudes of the very institutions created to effect the realization of the ultimate goal? The answer lies in the relationship of power which comes to exist between individual men and the guardians of the system predicated upon the symbolic imperatives of the "thematic universe."

In pursuing this portion of the analysis we must explore "culpability" at all levels of interaction within the existential situation. In assessing the role of leadership we must acknowledge that authority is vested in the institutional hierarchy by the masses in order that they may through a process of "symbolic" and "social" management keep the group working as a unit -- or in the words of the Witnesses, marching in unison like an army. Once placed in a position of authority occasioned by the willingness of the membership to vest their trust in a select body of leaders, those leaders not only enjoy the status and privilege of their office, they also incur the responsibility for preserving, administering, and where necessary *altering* that system. As they execute this function they must constantly validate for the membership their right to authority in so doing. The process of corporate affirmation inherent in this aspect of institutionalization is no mere garnering of personal glory for the leaders. They *must* constantly re-establish their authoritative position because the masses of the membership *demand* it. Within the parameters of their own "thematic universe" they must seek such justification, and hence they become psychologically entwined with the

dominant symbols themselves. The institution itself thus becomes a primary "Thou" within the consciousness of both the leaders and the rank-and-file membership. Within the non-trinitarian theological exegesis of the Witnesses, the paracletic function the Governing Body has come to assume results in the creation of a psychological trinity consisting of Jehovah, Jesus and Organization. The Witnesses, if asked about the role of each, would explain them as distinct and separate entities; should those same individuals be excluded from the community, their greatest personal challenge would be to disentangle the fundamental role of each and to discover that rejection of or by the Organization does not necessarily involve rejection of or by Jehovah God. This is unquestionably one of the most critical aspects of "culture-shock" for the disaffected, and has brought many former Witnesses to the brink of suicide as they hover between the cliffs of being and the abyss of nothingness when all meaning evaporates without the Organization. What part has the individual member played, however unwittingly, to allow such total abrogation of self to the institution to occur?

In assessing the role of the believer in the process of religious abuse Cox wrote:

The seduction of the spirit . . . is the twisting of people's natural and healthy religious instincts for purposes of control and domination. It is the cruelest abuse of religion because it slyly enlists people in their own manipulation (Cox 1973: 16).

Against these words by Cox we must weigh the comments of Nietzsche when he wrote that "the herd animal" (i.e. the grass-roots believer) is incapable of leading itself, and therefore not only desires a leader, but seeks one (Nietzsche 1968: 157-162). According to Nietzsche, the "priests understood that Again it is the priests who exploit this condition and win the 'people over'" (157-162). While one tends to sympathize with Cox's estimation of the inhumanity which can ultimately result from the abuse of peoples' trust and veneration, the culpability of both the "priests" and the "people" suggested by Nietzsche must be considered. In what way do people become enlisted in "their own manipulation?" As de Beauvoir noted, "mystification" of his own position leads the "slave" or committed believer to see his role as an exalted one in which he can experience a sense of pride and of "getting somewhere." This feeling arises as a result of membership -- a sense of "being in"

or "belonging to" an organization whose power, transcending his own capability, is used for the advantage of realizing the goals of the individual members. The members in the very act of delegating authority and abrogating responsibility "invest" their trust and, through their commitment, their power as well -- a power which they expect to earn them dividends. The organization thus magnifies the power of the individual and comes to serve as psychic "spear thrower" in the affirmation of individual before self and cosmos. Eventually, the paracletism of the organization and the mystification of the believer create a tight, "hermetically sealed" thematic unity from which none may withdraw readily. How *does* one come to withdraw?

When the weight of contradiction and doubt, or the enforced ostracism from a closed system, results in the withdrawal of an individual from his community and his abandonment of his symbols of significance, that individual is left in a state of existential crisis. Where the disaffected member has long pondered the perceived disharmonies of his thematic universe, the groundwork of an alternative perception of self and world is often prepared for the actual break -- be that break of his own accord or because the

community has forced it upon him. For those who are forced to abandon their symbols of significance suddenly, as is occasioned when one is summarily disfellowshipped or when a friend or relative opts to abandon rather than follow the community, the lack of an alternative can be psychologically disruptive. Then, the establishment of meaning becomes an all-consuming struggle. In all cases, the individual must extricate himself from the symbolically defined purposes and destiny of man expressed in his former system, and begin to reassert himself as a person in his own right. This is no mean feat. One recalls Tillich's words: "A self which has become a matter of calculation and management has ceased to be a self. It has become a thing" ([1952] 1962: 124). In short, such an individual must create not only a new world for himself, but a "self" to live within that world. Herein lies the root potential of human free will, creativity and responsibility. That energy or commitment which has long been vested or "invested" in an institution is reassumed by the individual, who thereby obtains freedom to renew the search for meaning and the struggle to exist "more humanly."

Jehovah's Witnesses as individuals chose to come out of "this world," opting instead for the worldview offered by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society in which "Thou" was identified as "Jehovah." But in the view of the dissidents, the theocracy whose divine king was Jehovah became over the years a system in which the Organization itself became the "ultimate concern" of many if not most Jehovah's Witnesses; individual Witnesses were not so much concerned with "divine retribution" as they were with the punishment of social ostracism meted out by the Organization through its congregations. For them, the liberator became the oppressor, and they found it necessary to search once again for a liberating truth within a unified cosmos.

It is not the purpose of this dissertation to judge either Jehovah's Witnesses or their opponents; doctrinal matters are a concern for individual belief and faith beyond the scope of a study of this nature. It is ultimately the social and symbolic dynamic of the opting for or opting out of a system of belief, of a society, of a way of life that is the crux of this thesis, as individuals respond to voices of power and authority in the expectation of achieving a significant destiny consonant with the promises posited as being directly made by one's "Ultimate Concern."

This dissertation has demonstrated the ways in which symbol, power and society interact to create a praxis accepted by adherents to the culture group as legitimate authority. Similar observations could be made of a good number of authoritarian institutions be they religious, political, military or economic. One can postulate that an examination of other power systems would lead to similar conclusions: that commitment to such institutions may be widespread but that the authoritarianism of its leaders leads to dissension, the desire for liberation, defection, and the seeking of meaning in alternative systems of belief or political reality.

Future research will be able to focus upon the relationships of power and authority in the interaction between man, his society, and his symbols in areas not as clearly defined by the distinct boundary mechanisms of a sectarian group. The problems of authority are becoming increasingly critical in North American politics, for example, as governments dedicated to meeting certain goals become entrenched in traditional mechanisms for problem resolution which appear to be outmoded. In fact, the issue of authority is critical in any community in which the leadership tends to rely

more heavily upon coercive regulation than upon voluntary co-operation among its adherents.

The process of dissension, re-evaluation and creation of a new significant reality should be a major concern to anthropologists since in the Twentieth Century, when there is widespread dissatisfaction with authority, explanations of human responses to power and symbol as applied by authoritarian societies should be expressed in terms of man's natural propensity as a species to guard his individual values in the face of the tendency towards collective will. Man must first be seen and understood as an individual with an imagination and intelligence capable of creating alternative realities to those in which he is forced to live. -- This capability, it can be argued, is the birthright of man. Power systems that seek to deny man free will and free choice in deference to autocracy -- or to the authoritarian regime of "theocracy" -- can come to threaten the essence of humanity, especially for those who at some point in their lives opt for a system that insists on a life-time contract of proactive service. Fortunately, without mechanisms for internal change, such systems are by their very nature short-lived, for the tendency of man to assert his birthright in the face of adversity remains very strong indeed.

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APPENDIX A

*The Origins of Jehovah's Witnesses
in Canada: Ethnographic Background*

The Bible Students, as the Witnesses were called in the Nineteenth Century, first came to Canada slightly more than a century ago. The first "classes" or Bible Study groups met in and near Toronto under the direction of William Brookman, a former clergyman, and Thomas Baker, a sawmill operator who had been in charge of the Anglican Church Sunday School at Elba, eighty kilometers northwest of Toronto (*Yearbook* 1979: 78-79). On February 22, 1891, Russell, whose title at the time was President of the International Bible Students' Association, paid his first visit to Canada, addressing 400 persons for two hours in the morning and 700 for two hours in the afternoon, and conducting a question-and-answer session open to all comers in the evening. By then 5,000 copies of Russell's book *Millennial Dawn* had been distributed. The Bible Students arrived in Victoria, British Columbia; Carberry, Manitoba; and Halifax, Nova Scotia almost simultaneously in 1892; and by 1895 the sect had spread to the other Maritime provinces and the Northwest Territories, including what is now Alberta

and Saskatchewan. Virtually the whole town of Calmar, Alberta, consisted of "Russellites" until the end of the century. By 1899, some fifty Bible Students lived in Alberta, eighty-one were active in Ontario (twenty-one of them in Toronto), twenty-two lived in Manitoba, five in British Columbia, seven in Saskatchewan, and eight in Nova Scotia (*Yearbook* 1979: 86, 88). Major assemblies were held across Canada in 1913, with 1,000 attending the convention at Victoria, 4,500 at Vancouver, and 1,200 at Toronto. For the conventions, Russell hired a convention train on which 200 delegates travelled from city to city with him on the Canadian National Railway route through Edmonton and Saskatoon. By 1914, the congregation in Toronto numbered 204, compared to 195 in Vancouver and 105 in Winnipeg (*Yearbook* 1979: 98).

When Russell died in 1916 after a gruelling lecture tour through Ontario, not everybody accepted the election of Joseph R. Rutherford to replace him:

Not only was that spirit of rebellion seen in certain ones who had enjoyed fine privileges at the Society's headquarters in Brooklyn, but there were those in Canada who got these ideas as well. This, and the arrest of Rutherford and his associates on false charges in 1918, seemed to be about all the sincere ones could bear. It looked as though things were falling apart. Times of testing were upon one and all!

In Toronto about 30 persons withdrew from the congregation and formed their own group. They tried letter writing and other methods to draw away followers. But this activity died out in about two years Dissension that continued into the early 1920's greatly affected the Vancouver and Victoria areas . . . , many congregations being split "down the middle" in numbers (yearbook 1979: 113).

The first Canadian branch office was established in 1918 with a staff of five, including branch manager W. F. Salter; in 1920 it moved from Winnipeg to Toronto, and was expanded by one person, so that three men and three women were on staff, all living with other Bible students who voluntarily "put them up". By 1922, Memorial attendance -- the main indicator of interest in the sect -- had risen to 2,335. In 1926 Canada boasted sixty-three "colporteurs";¹ by 1930, this figure had doubled. During this time, Bible Students started their work in Newfoundland and Quebec. In 1925, the number of regularly active "Kingdom proclaimers" passed the 1,000 mark in seventy "companies" or congregations, and the Branch Office in Toronto expanded to sixteen, with living accommodations at the branch headquarters (yearbook 1979: 125, 134).

1. "Colporteur" referred to a "full-time," publishing Witness who regularly aimed for a quota of 100 hours preaching time each month. The term is no longer used, having been replaced by "pioneer."

It was in the branch headquarters that the next organizational difficulties were to arise -- difficulties that required the intervention of Rutherford himself:

These centred around the then branch manager, W. F. Salter. It appears that ever since 1935 he had not been in full agreement with Scriptural views on the "great multitude" as presented in the Watch Tower publications

It became known that Salter felt he was to be a new channel of communication for Jehovah's Witnesses and that *The Watchtower* would in time print his views, such as those on "universal salvation." He also wrote to a European branch manager saying that he (Salter) expected to be the next president of the Watch Tower Society

Matters had come to a head. Brother Rutherford came to Toronto, had a five-hour meeting with Bethel family members and let some of them read the letters they had written in complaint against Salter. Then Rutherford produced evidence that Salter had been trying to influence brothers away from the organization and to himself, evidence not only from Canada but also from England and Germany. Salter was replaced as branch manager and was given two weeks to move out. (Seven others were asked to leave at that time, most of them being in sympathy with Salter .)

. . . A barrage of letters and literature from Salter, sent to many Witnesses and his followers, made it plain that there was no repentance on his part. Hence, in 1937 he was disfellowshipped by the Toronto Congregation (*Yearbook* 1979: 134-135).

Subsequently, half the "Bethel family" having been dispensed with, major "adjustments" were made to the branch staff. Percy Chapman was appointed branch servant, and Leo Greenlees and Jack Nathan -- both of whom were to reach prominence in the organization at large -- joined the staff. By 1939, there were 4,269 "Kingdom proclaimers" or publishers and 294 pioneers in Canada. Despite a ban on Jehovah's Witnesses during World War II, 15,000 attended the Memorial (the celebration of Christ's crucifixion) in 1943. Some 283 Witnesses chose to go to work camps located throughout Canada rather than fight in the war (*Yearbook* 1979: 143).

The Canadian Census indicated that there were 34,596 Witnesses in Canada in 1951, and this had doubled to 68,018 by 1961. They had become "the fastest-growing denomination in Canada" (*Yearbook* 1979: 161). In fact, the Witnesses in Canada boasted a 902 percent increase from 1940 to 1977 (*Yearbook* 1979: 172). The Census figures are interesting in that they indicate the number of people *claiming to be* Jehovah's Witnesses -- figures approximating the number attending Memorial Services rather than actual active publishers. The average number of publishers in 1977 was 60,940,

compared to 121,000 attending the Memorial. The Memorial, as the most critical event in the Witnesses' calendar, attracts all those actively involved, those who are newly interested, and many whose activity has diminished to a point where they only attend meetings. The Memorial figures are important as indicators of immediate potential increase in the category of active publisher which in fact determines the number of Jehovah's Witnesses at any given time. Table 21 on page 493 contains the figures for publishers and pioneers in Canada from 1940 to 1980.

What neither the census figures nor the Witnesses' own statistics indicate is the actual turnover in membership. Graphed out, the population dynamic appears to be one of stable, steady growth. However, close examination of the Society's own statistics that relate to baptisms of new members annually and the overall growth rate indicates a large attrition rate -- a rate "masked" by a slightly larger attraction rate. For example, of seventy-nine people in the micro-society (see Chapter Two), fifty-eight alone continue as regular publishers, and of those six are unbaptized children. Only three losses have been as a result of death. The 1980 statistics for Canada suggest

that this ratio of retention is standard. During that year the number of Witnesses in this country increased from 61,281 to 62,938 for a total of 1,657 new publishers. However, 2,753 were baptized, indicating that 1,096 "fell away" during this period; it is likely that each of the newly baptized persons would retain regular publisher status immediately before and after baptism. This trend is typical of Jehovah's Witnesses' progress throughout the world over the past twenty years. Over a ten-year period from 1970 to 1980, in Canada, Jehovah's Witnesses increased from 45,734 to 62,938 for a total increase of 19,673 members. However, over the same period, 43,606 were baptized, indicating an attrition of some 29,901 regular publishers -- close to one-third of the total. It is precisely in this arena of conversion and retraction that one can expect the dynamic relationship between the symbolic system and the social system to become most visible. It must not be overlooked that an even larger but less visible group discontinue their association from among those who are never baptized and thus remain free from the threat of formal recrimination.

TABLE 21

Canadian Publishers and Pioneers				
Year	Average Publishers	Peak Publishers	% Inc.	Pioneers
1940	6,081	-----	-----	-----
1945	9,880	11,049	-----	-----
1950	16,013	18,709	12	770
1955	25,306	29,178	6	799
1960	34,603	38,382	5	1,262
1961	36,459	40,230	5	1,252
1962	37,227	40,121	2	1,287
1963	37,418	40,625	1	1,431
1964	38,790	41,663	4	1,588
1965	39,293	41,887	1	1,669
1966	39,554	41,042	1	1,578
1967	40,237	41,611	2	1,795
1968	41,458	42,864	3	2,221
1969	43,265	44,700	4	2,536
1970	45,734	46,808	6	3,953
1971	48,100	49,204	5	2,757
1972	49,233	50,166	2	2,554
1973	50,650	52,773	3	2,882
1974	56,108	58,452	11	3,904
1975	58,380	60,759	4	3,380
1976	60,573	62,880	4	2,825
1977	60,940	63,090	1	3,156
1978	60,540	61,836	-1	3,076
1979	61,281	63,995	1	3,477
1980	62,938	66,395	3	3,564

APPENDIX B

WILL AND TESTAMENT OF CHARLES TAZE RUSSELL

Having at various times during past years donated to the WATCH TOWER BIBLE & TRACT SOCIETY all of my personal possessions except a small personal bank account of approximately two hundred dollars, in the Exchange National Bank of Pittsburgh, which will properly be paid over to my wife if she survives me, I have merely love and Christian good wishes to leave to all of the dear members of the Bible House Family and all other dear collaborators in the harvest work — yea, for all the household of faith in every place who call upon the name of the Lord Jesus as their Redeemer.

However, in view of the fact that in donating the journal, ZION'S WATCH TOWER, the OLD THEOLOGY QUARTERLY and the copyrights of the MILLENNIAL DAWN SCRIPTURE STUDIES Books and various other booklets, hymn-books, etc., to the WATCH TOWER BIBLE & TRACT SOCIETY, I did so with the explicit understanding that I should have full control of all the interests of these publications during my life time, and that after my decease they should be conducted according to my wishes. I now herewith set forth the said wishes — my will respecting the same — as follows:

AN EDITORIAL COMMITTEE OF FIVE

I direct that the entire editorial charge of ZION'S WATCH TOWER shall be in the hands of a committee of five brethren, whom I exhort to great carefulness and fidelity to the truth. All articles appearing in the columns of ZION'S WATCH TOWER shall have the unqualified approval of at least three of the committee of five, and I urge that if any matter approved by three be known or supposed to be contrary to the views of one or both of the other members of the committee, such articles shall be held over for thought, prayer and discussion for three months before being published that so far as possible the unity of the faith and the bonds of peace may be maintained in the editorial management of the journal.

The names of the Editorial Committee (with such changes as may from time to time occur) shall all be published in each number of the journal — but it shall not in any manner be indicated by whom the various articles appearing in the journal are written. It will be sufficient that the fact be recognized that the articles are approved by the majority of the committee.

As the Society is already pledged to me that it will publish no other periodicals, it shall also be required that the Editorial Committee shall write for or be connected with no other publications in any manner or degree. My object in these requirements is to safeguard the committee and the journal from any spirit of ambition or pride or headship, and that the truth may be recognized and appreciated for its own worth, and that the Lord may more particularly be recognized as the Head of the church and the Fountain of truth.

Copies of my Sunday discourses published in the daily newspapers covering a period of several years have been preserved and may be used as editorial matter for the WATCH TOWER or not, as the committee may think best, but my name shall not be attached nor any indication whatever given respecting the authorship.

Those named below as members of the Editorial Committee (subject to their acceptance) are supposed by me to be thoroughly loyal to the doctrines of the Scriptures — especially so to the doctrine of the ransom — that there is no acceptance with God and no salvation to eternal life except through faith in Christ and obedience to His Word and its spirit. If any of the designated ones shall at any time find themselves out of harmony with this provision they will be violating their consciences and hence committing sin if they continue to remain members of this Editorial Committee knowing that so to do would be contrary to the spirit and intention of this provision.

The Editorial Committee is self-perpetuating, in that should one of these members die or resign, it will be the duty of the remainder to elect his successor, that the journal may never have an issue without a full Editorial Committee of five. I enjoin upon the committee named great caution in respect to the election of others to their number — that purity of life, clearness in the truth, zeal for God, love for the brethren and faithfulness to the Redeemer shall be prominent characteristics of the one elected. In addition to the five named for the committee I have named five others from whom I prefer that selection should be made for any vacancies in the Editorial Committee, before going outside for a general selection — unless in the interim, between the making of this Will and the time of my death, something should occur which would seem to indicate these as less desirable or others as more desirable for filling the vacancies mentioned.

The names of the Editorial Committee are as follows:

WILLIAM E. PAGE,
WILLIAM E. VAN AMBERGHE,
HENRY CLAY ROCKWELL,
E. W. BRENNISON,
E. H. ROBISON.

The names of the five whom I suggest as possibly amongst the most suitable from which to fill vacancies in the Editorial Committee are as follows: A. E. Burgess, Robert Hirsh, Isaac Hoskins, George H. Fisher (Scranton), J. E. Rutherford, Dr. John Edgar.

The following announcement shall appear in each issue of THE WATCH TOWER, followed by the names of the Editorial Committee:

ZION'S WATCH TOWER EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

This journal is published under the supervision of an Editorial Committee, at least three of whom must have read and have approved as TRUTH each and every article appearing in these columns. The names of the Committee now serving are:
(names to follow.)

As for compensation, I think it wise to maintain the Society's course of the past in respect to salaries — that none be paid, that merely reasonable expenses be allowed to those who serve the Society or its work in any manner. In harmony with the course of the Society, I suggest that the provision for the Editorial Committee, or the three that shall be actively engaged, shall consist of not more than a provision for their food and shelter and ten dollars per month, with such a moderate allowance for wife or children or other dependent upon them for support as the Society's Board of Directors shall consider proper, just, reasonable — that no provision be made for the laying up of money.

I desire that the OLD THEOLOGY QUARTERLY continue to appear as at present, so far as the opportunities for distribution and the laws of the land will permit, and that its issues shall consist of reprints from the old issues of THE WATCH TOWER or extracts from my discourses, but that no name shall appear in connection with the matter unless the same is required by law.

It is my wish that the same rules apply to the German, the French, the Italian, the Danish and the Swedish or any other foreign publications controlled or supported by the WATCH TOWER BIBLE AND TRACT SOCIETY.

I will that a copy of this paper be sent to each one whose name has appeared above as of the Editorial committee or the list from whom others of that committee may be chosen to fill vacancies and also to each member of the BOARD of Directors of the WATCH TOWER BIBLE and TRACT SOCIETY. This shall be done immediately on my death being reported, so that within a week, if possible, the persons named as of the Editorial Committee may be heard from, their communications being addressed to the Vice-President of the WATCH TOWER BIBLE AND TRACT SOCIETY — whoever may be holding that office at that time. The answers of those appointed shall be to the point, indicating their acceptance or rejection of the provisions and terms specified. A reasonable time shall be allowed for any one mentioned who may be absent from the city or from the country. Meantime the remainder of the committee of at least three shall proceed to act in their capacity as editors. It shall be the duty of the officers of the Society to provide the necessary arrangements for these members of the Editorial Committee and to assist them in their duties in every possible manner, in compliance with the engagements made with me bearing on this matter.

I have already donated to the WATCH TOWER BIBLE AND TRACT SOCIETY all my voting share therein, putting the same in the hands of five Trustees, as follows: Sr. E. Louise Hamilton, Sr. Almota M. Nation Robison, Sr. J. G. Herr, Sr. C. Tomlins, Sr. Alice G. James.

These Trustees shall serve for life. In event of deaths or resignations successors shall be chosen by the WATCH TOWER SOCIETY Directors and Editorial Committee and the remaining Trustees after prayer for divine guidance.

I now provide for the impeachment and dismissal from the Editorial Committee of any member thereof found to be unworthy the position by reason of either doctrinal or moral laches, as follows:

At least three of the Board must unite in bringing the impeachment charges, and the Board of Judgment in the matter shall consist of the WATCH TOWER BIBLE AND TRACT SOCIETY'S trustees and the five trustees controlling my voting shares and the Editorial Committee, excepting the accused. Of these sixteen members at least thirteen must favor the impeachment and dismissal in order to effect the same.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUNERAL

I desire to be buried in the plot of ground owned by our Society, in the Rosemont United Cemetery, and all the details of arrangements respecting the funeral service I leave in the care of my sister, Mrs. M. M. Land, and her daughters, Alice and May, or such of them as may survive me, with the assistance and advice and cooperation of the brethren, as they may request the same. Instead of an ordinary funeral discourse, I request that they arrange to have a number of the brethren accustomed to public speaking, make a few remarks each, that the service be very simple and inexpensive and that it be conducted in the Bible House Chapel or any other place that may be considered equally appropriate or more so.

MY LEGACY OF LOVE

To the dear "Bethel" family collectively and individually I leave my best wishes, in hoping for them of the Lord his blessing, which maketh rich and addeth no sorrow. The same I extend in a still broader sweep to all the family of the Lord in every place — especially to those rejoicing in the harvest truth. I entreat you all that you continue to progress and to grow in grace, in knowledge, and above all in love, the great fruit of the spirit in its various diversified forms. I exhort to meekness, not only with the world, but with one another; to patience with one another and with all men, to gentleness with all, to brotherly kindness, to godliness, to purity. I remind you that all these things are necessary for us, necessary that we may attain the promised kingdom, and that the Apostle has assured us that if we do these things we shall never fail, but that "so an entrance shall be ministered unto us abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ."

It is my wish that this my last Will and Testament be published in the issue of THE WATCH TOWER following my death.

My hope for myself, as for all the dear Israel of God, is that soon we shall meet to part no more, in the first resurrection, in the Master's presence, where there is fullness of joy forevermore. We shall be satisfied when we awake in his likeness —

"Changed from glory unto glory"

(Signed)

CHARLES TAZE RUSSELL

PUBLISHED AND DECLARED IN THE PRESENCE OF THE WITNESSES WHOSE NAMES ARE ATTACHED:

MAE E. LAND,

M. ALMETA NATION,

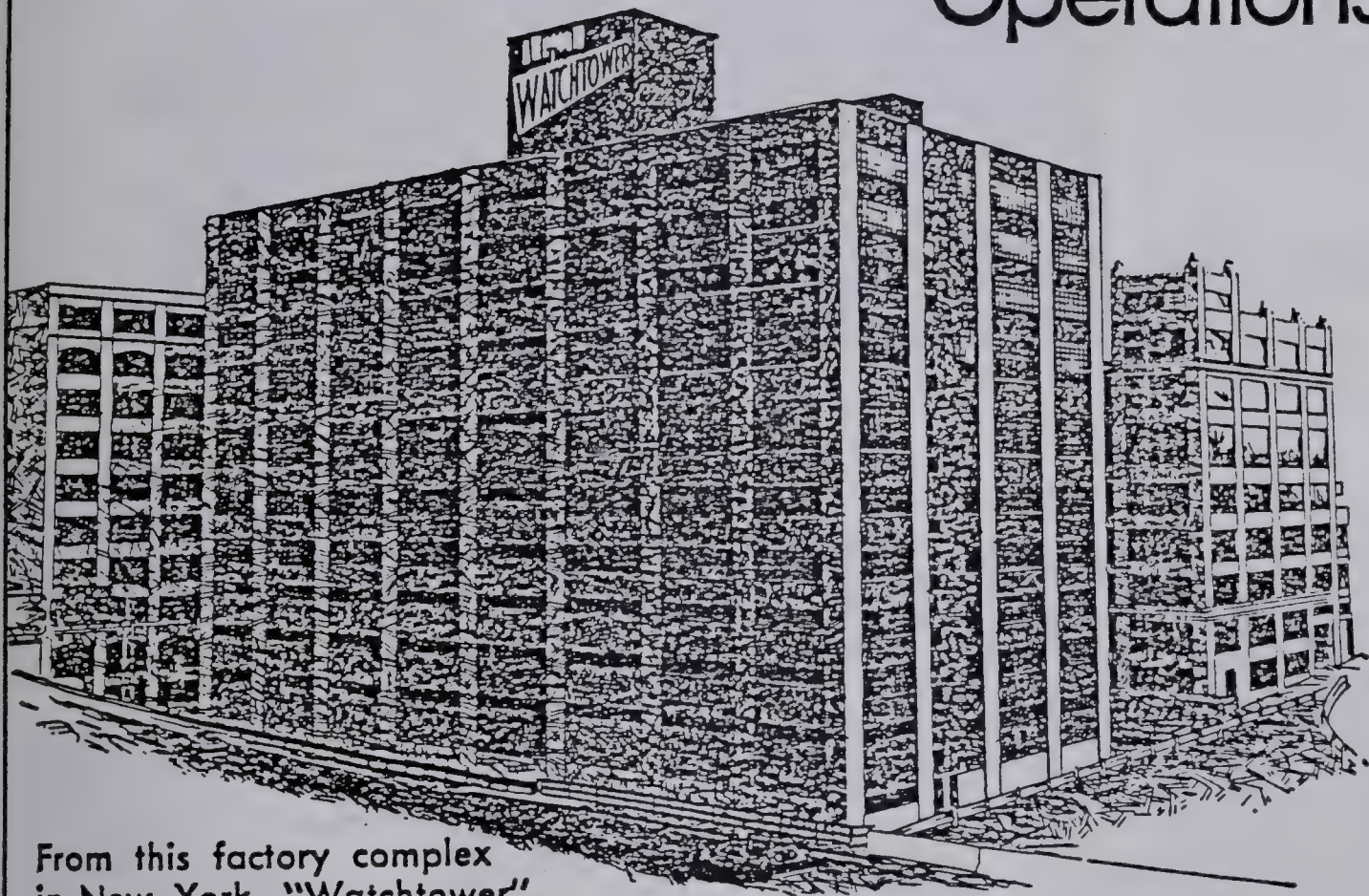
LAURA M. WHITEHOUSE.

DONE AT ALLEGHENY, PA., JUNE TWENTY-NINE, NINETEEN HUNDRED AND SEVEN.

APPENDIX C

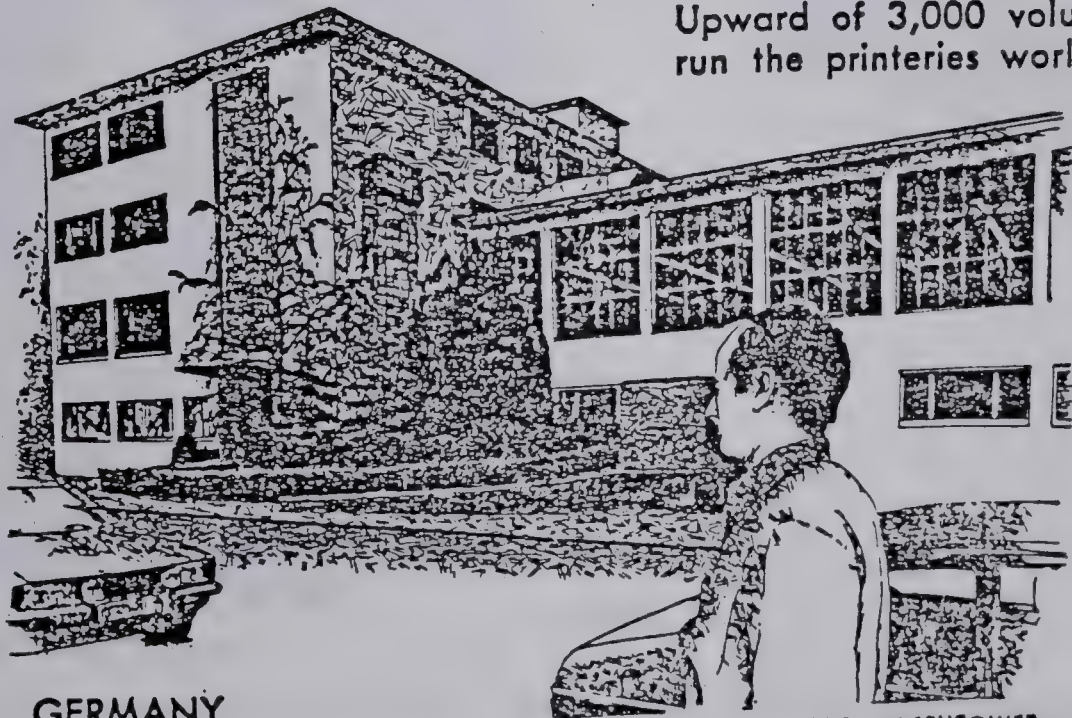
FIGURE 43

International Printing Operations



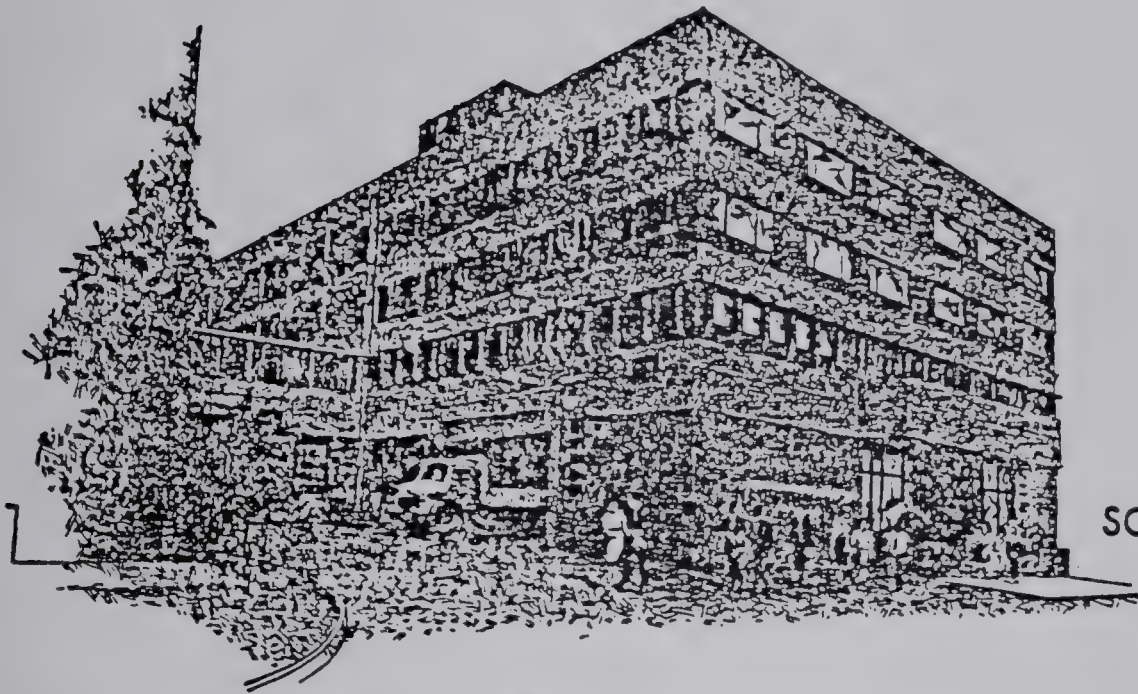
From this factory complex in New York, "Watchtower" printeries have spread around the globe

Upward of 3,000 volunteers run the printeries world wide



GERMANY
10

THE WATCHTOWER — 1, 1979

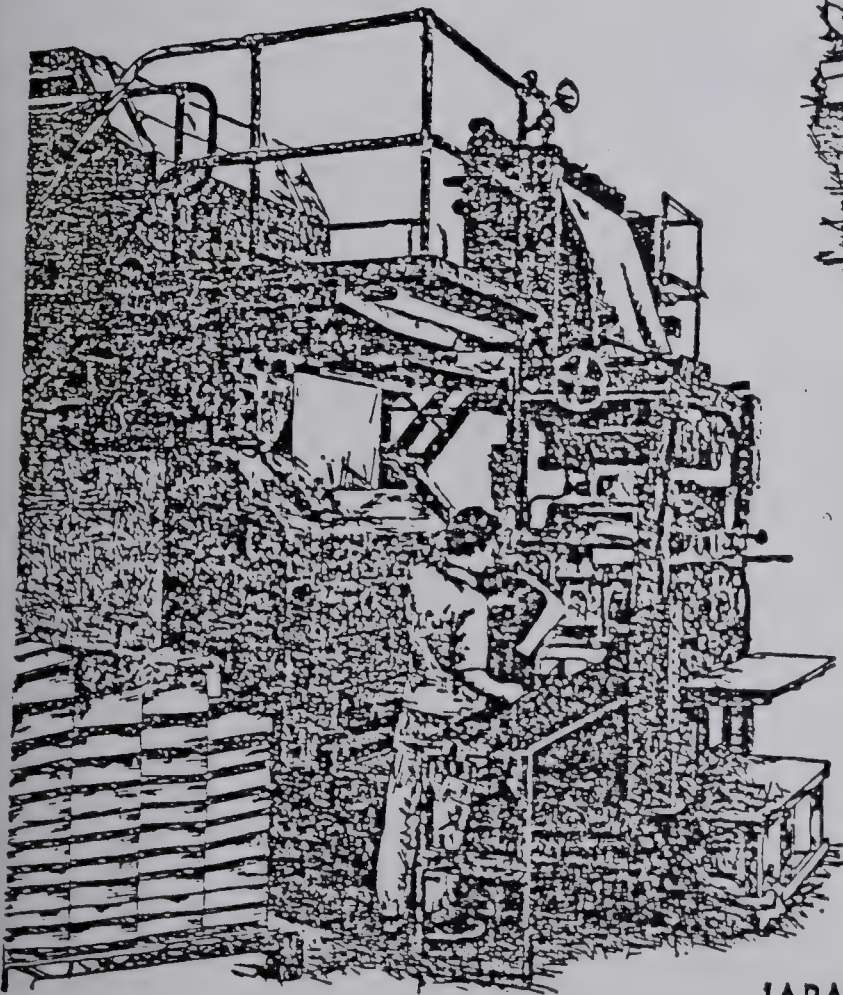


SOUTH AFRICA

High-speed printing presses turn out
over 220,000,000 copies per year
—in the Orient, North and
South America, Africa and Europe



BRAZIL



JAPAN

APPENDIX D

TABLE 22

CHRONOLOGY OF HUMAN HISTORY
According to the Doctrine of Jehovah's Witnesses

	Event	Calendar Date	Period Between
1	From the creation of Adam	4026 B.C.E.	
2	To the start of the Flood	2370 B.C.E.	1,656 yrs.
3	To the establishing of the Abrahamic covenant	1943 B.C.E.	427 yrs.
4	To the exodus from Egypt	1513 B.C.E.	430 yrs.
5	To the start of the temple construction	1034 B.C.E.	479 yrs.
6	To the division of the kingdom	997 B.C.E.	37 yrs.
7	To the desolation of Judah	607 B.C.E.	390 yrs.
8	To the return of the Jews from exile	537 B.C.E.	70 yrs.
9	To the rebuilding of Jerusalem's walls	455 B.C.E.	82 yrs.
10	To the baptism of Jesus	29 C.E.	483 yrs.
11	To the 6,000th anniversary of Adam's creation	1975 C.E.	1,946 yrs.
			6,000 yrs.

TABLE 23

Details of Dating for Sections <u>One</u> to <u>Three</u> of Human History Chronology Chart			
Section		Years Between Events	Bible Source
1 ↓	Creation of Adam to birth of Seth	130	<i>Genesis</i> 5: 1 to <i>Genesis</i> 7: 11.
	To birth of Enosh	105	
	To birth of Kenan	90	
	To birth of Mahalalel	70	
	To birth of Jared	65	
	To birth of Enoch	162	
	To birth of Methuselah	65	
	To birth of Lamech	187	
	To birth of Noah	182	
	To the Flood	600	
		1,656	
2 ↓	From the beginning of the Flood to Arpach- shad's birth	2	<i>Genesis</i> 11: 10 <i>Genesis</i> 12: 4.
	Then to the birth of Shelah	35	
	To the birth of Eber	30	
	To the birth of Peleg	34	
	To the birth of Reu	30	
	To the birth of Serug	32	
	To the birth of Nahor	30	
	To the birth of Terah	29	
	To the death of Terah, when Abraham was 75 years old	205	
		427	

TABLE 24

<div>Details of Dating for Section Three to Section Four of Human History Chronology Chart</div> <div>From the Establishing of the Abrahamic Covenant To the Exodus and the Law Covenant (1943 to 1513 B.C.E.)</div>		
<div>The 430 year period of time involved here relates to two specific Biblical passages; first, the prophecy of Genesis 15:13: You may know for sure that your seed with become an alien resident in a land not theirs, and they will have to serve them for four hundred years (NWT)</div> <div>and second, the record of Exodus 12: 40,41: . . . the dwelling of the sons of Isreal, who had dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years (NWT).</div>		
Date	Event	Time Passed
1943 B.C.E.	Abraham's departure from Haran to Canaan To Isaac's birth	↓ 25 yrs.
	Isaac at age 5 (Ishmael's ridicule)	+5 yrs.
	To Jacob's birth	↓ 60 yrs.
1728 B.C.E.	To Jacob's age at time of entry into Egypt	↓ 130 yrs.
	To Beginning of Exodus	↓ 215 yrs.
1513 B.C.E.	Exodus and Law Covenant.	430 yrs. TOTAL

TABLE 25

Details of Dating for Sections Four to Six of Human History Chronology Chart			
Sections	Event	Calendar Date	Time Period Between Events
<div>4</div> <div>↓</div> <div>5</div> <div>↓</div> <div>6</div>	From the Exodus	1513 B.C.E.	
	To the entry of Isreal into Canaan	1473 B.C.E.	40 yrs.
	To the close of the period of the Judges and the beginning of Saul's reign	1117 B.C.E.	356 yrs.
	To the beginning of David's reign	1077 B.C.E.	40 yrs.
	(Start of temple construction)		
	To the beginning of Solomon's reign	1037 B.C.E.	40 yrs.
	To the division of the kingdom	997 B.C.E.	40 yrs.
	TOTAL years from the Exodus to the division of the kingdom		516 yrs.

TABLE 26

Details of Dating for Sections
Six to Seven of Human History Chronology Chart

From The Division of the Kingdom to
The Desolation of Jerusalem and Judah
(997 to 607 B.C.E.)

The 390 year period covered between section six and section seven of the Chart is generally calculated from a simple arithmetic function using the dates 997 and 607 B.C.E. It is also noted in *Aid to Bible Understanding* that the reigns of the kings in both the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah "harmonize reasonably" with a 390 year period (339). However, there are problems in determining the length of actual reigns. For example, it was a custom among the Jewish people to attribute an entire year to a given king even if he died on the first day of that year. Therefore, as "corroboration," the Witnesses prefer to accept "prophetic" figures which correlate *exactly* with the 390 year period; namely, the passage contained in Ezekiel 4: 1-7 in which God directed Ezekiel to lie on his left side for 390 days to "carry the error of the house of Israel" and on his right side for 40 days to "carry the error of the house of Judah." The days are then expanded into 390 years in verse 6 of Ezekiel in which it is stated: "A day for a year, a day for a year, is what I have given you" (NWT).

SYMBOLISMS IN DANIEL'S KINGDOM PROPHECIES 506

The immense image
(Daniel 2:31-45)

The four huge beasts
(Daniel 7:2-22)



BABYLONIA
from 625 B.C.E.



MEDO-PERSIA
from 539 B.C.E.



GREECE
from 331 B.C.E.



ROME
from 30 B.C.E.



BRITAIN & AMERICA
from 1763 C.E.

RADICAL POPULAR MOVEMENTS

The small horn appears
(Daniel 7:8)



Emperor Constantine (312-337 C.E.)
establishes eastern capital, in addition
to Rome from which Anglo-American Power
descends



Henry VIII severs ties with Rome (1534 C.E.)



From time of Elizabeth I (1558-1603 C.E.),
Britain proceeds to 'pluck out the three horns'
of Spain, Netherlands and finally France



TABLE 27

APPENDIX E

Legitimization of the Organization

Acceptance of the Organization as Jehovah's official voice is based upon a prophetic passage from *Daniel*. The significance of the prophecy for the Witnesses lies in the statement, " . . . Seven times themselves will pass over you until you know the most High Ruler in the Kingdom of mankind, and that to the one whom he wants to he gives it"(*Daniel* 4: 25 [NWT]). According to the Witnesses, the time for God to give his Kingdom to his chosen one came in 1914. This time was calculated by reverting to the lunar time of ancient Babylon in which one year was 360 days long with an additional thirteenth month of twenty-nine days being added every nineteen year to adjust to siderial time (*YWBDE* 1958: 101). Once again, working from the premise that a day with God is as a year (*Numbers* 14: 34 [NWT]), they argue that a 360-day year standing for a "time," the calculation for the entire period would be reduced to 2,520 solar years. This accounts for the time period between 607 B.C.E. and A.D. 1914 (*YWBDE* 1958: 101). The universal strife created by the advent of World War I in 1914 is accepted as evidence that Jehovah did oust Satan from heaven to give his own son,

Christ, supreme rulership. Referring to *Revelation*

12: 12 --

On this account be glad, you heavens and you who reside in them! Woe for the earth and for the sea, because the Devil has come down to you, having great anger, knowing he has a short period of time --

the Witnesses maintain that it was the anger of Satan the Devil being cast to the earth at the advent of the second coming of Christ in 1914 which precipitated the war.

The cause of joy and happiness in this otherwise pessimistic vision results from the correlation of *Matthew 24: 34* to the period which began in 1914 and promises that "this generation will by no means pass away until all these things occur." Thus the corner around which Armageddon looms can be no further away than 1984, as the Witnesses accept the term "generation" as a reference to the expected "three score years and ten" of the current life-span of man. This is not only the first step in the legitimization of the Organization; but also the thrust of urgency needed to ignite the power pack of the group and galvanize it into action.

The outbreak of World War I marked a crucial period for Jehovah's Witnesses. Their preaching activity was banned as seditious. The persecution which befell

them during the years of the war was for them diagnostic of yet another distinct prophetic period to be worked out by them. The Biblical passage to which they refer for corroboration of this theme is contained in *Revelation* 11: 15-18:

And the seventh angel blew his trumpet. And loud voices occurred in heaven saying: "The kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of our Lord and his Christ, and he will rule as king for ever and ever" But the nations became wrathful, and your own wrath came, and the appointed time for the dead to be judged, and to give [their] reward to your slaves the prophets and to those fearing your name, the small and the great, and to bring to ruin those ruining the earth (NWT).

In addition to supporting Rutherford's belief that the faithful dead would be judged and rewarded at the second coming of Christ in 1914, this scripture also signified a period of persecution prophesied to last for "Times, Two Times and half a Time" (*Daniel* 7: 25 and 12: 7).

The command to "preach to all the nations" taken from *Matthew* 24: 14 was effectively frustrated during the war years. Commenting on this in *Your Will Be Done On Earth*, the writers concluded:

The Anglo-American dual world power outstandingly opposed the carrying out of that law by the holy people of Jehovah God. In doing so it fulfilled the angelic prophecy: "He . . . shall wear out the saints of the Most High, . . . and they shall be given into his hand for a time, two times, and half a time (*YWBDE* 1958: 180).

According to the Witnesses, "Times, two times and half a time" refers to one half of the seven years that literally passed over a crazed King Nebuchadnezzar. The time period is thus interpreted as lasting for three and one-half literal years, a position which they claim is supported by *Revelation* 11: 1-3: "And I will cause my two witnesses to prophesy a thousand two hundred and sixty days dressed in sack-cloth"(NWT). In terms of organizational history, this period of forty-two months parallels the time from November 1914 to May 7th, 1918, and includes the incarceration of the president, secretary-treasurer, publishers and writers of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society. During their imprisonment, the preaching ground to a near standstill -- a situation they came to associate with mourning and sack cloth.

The third major prophetic period used to legitimize the Organization's authority covers the time from the end of January 1919 to the first half of September, 1922, at the Cedar Point, Ohio convention. The scriptural reference for this period is *Daniel* 12: 11:

And from the time that the constant [feature] has been removed and there has been a placing of the disgusting them that is causing desolation, there will be one thousand three hundred and thirty-five days (NWT).

This period for the Witnesses had been one of slow reorganization after the disruptions brought about by the war. It was not until Friday, September 8, 1922, at Cedar Point that an announcement was made indicating the Society was actually prepared to function once more at capacity. The Cedar Point convention thus marked clearly an end to the slack period in the Witnesses' preaching activities. The resumption of the "preaching work" was spurred on by Rutherford in his closing remarks:

The kingdom of heaven is at hand ! . . .
You are his publicity agents. Therefore
advertise, advertise, advertise, the King
and his Kingdom! (JWDP 1959: 102).

APPENDIX F

ANNOTATED LIST
OF
WATCHTOWER ARTICLES
FOR
1975-1976

Doctrinal Articles cont'd	Social Articles cont'd
January 1st, 1975	
1. "Will You Live To See Christ's Coming?" reaffirms that an exact date for Armageddon cannot be arrived at and that the "not knowing" constitutes a test of faith, pp. 9-11.	1. "Do You Show Appreciation" discusses the need to show gratitude and appreciation towards one's own family members and God, pp. 13-19. * 2. "Appreciating the Things of God" stipulates that preaching activity is the most appropriate way of expressing an appreciation of God pp. 19-29. * 3. "Expressing Appreciation in Song" addresses the need for community worship at the Kingdom Hall as another essential ingredient in showing an appreciative attitude toward God 29-31.
January 15th, 1975	
	4. "Are You Too Bad to be Forgiven by God?" describes the appropriate repentent attitudes and behaviour required to be assured of God's forgiveness and acceptance strictly in social terms -- not in doctrinal terms pp 38-41. 5. "How Are Christians Spiritually Fed?" discusses the internal organization of

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
	<p>The Watchtower, Bible and Tract Society (the <u>only</u> Christian religion) and the necessity of each individual meeting the responsibilities of his assignments within the organization pp . 45-47.</p> <p>6. "Safeguarded By Faith and Hope" discusses ways of avoiding 'demonic' influences in 'the world' by restricting all social association to members of 'the Society' only pp. 49-54.</p> <p>7. "Pursuing a Satisfying Way of Life"</p> <p>* claims that a satisfying life can be lived only through moral, Christian behaviour and close association with 'the Society' pp. 54-61.</p>
	February 1st, 1975
	<p>8. "Growing Poverty -- A Threat to All" discusses the need for world wide equalization of resources, possible only in Jehovah's New World, and suggests that those interty "regularly read this magazine" of poverty pp. 67-70.</p>

<p>Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .</p> <p>2. "A Fine Reward for Faithfulness" reviews the doctrinal basis for belief in eternal life on earth with heavy social overtones for those who wish to achieve it pp 77-79.</p> <p>* 3. "Hope Based on the Unfolding Purpose of God" is a continuation of the doctrinal issue discussed in the above article pp. 80-86.</p>	<p>Social Articles cont'd . . .</p> <p>9. "Is It Wise to Marry a Near Relative?" gives a gloss of genetic considerations, a smattering of biblical quotations, and concludes by recommending standard white, North American practice pp. 72-77.</p> <p>10. "Keep Looking, Keep Moving Forward with Jehovah" stipulates the necessary action demanded of individuals and the community of 'the Society' if eternal life on earth is to be achieved pp. 87-92.</p> <p>* 11. "Is There a Time to Judge?" warns primarily against internal criticism but also cautions against judging outsiders -- they are the raw materials of the preaching activity pp. 92-94.</p>
<p>February 15th, 1975</p>	
<p>4. "Will Science Really Solve Your Problems?" compares the limited potential of science with the unlimited potential of God pp. 99-102.</p> <p>5. "Anointing to a Heavenly Hope -- How Is It Manifest?" is a direct apologia for some members making "wrong assumptions" about</p>	<p>12. "A Look at the Ancient Samaritans" is intended to provide an example of perfect group unity pp. 103-104.</p> <p>13. "The Wages of Disloyalty" warns against internal dissent which can lead only to "unhappiness, disgrace and death" pp. 109-111.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
<p>their eligibility for 'heaven' in view of an embarrassing increase in the number of members claiming to be of the 'remnant of 144,000 when this number <u>should</u> always decrease pp. 105-108.</p>	<p>14. "Getting to Know God" describes how good behaviour leads to a knowledge of God in terms of doing one's Christian duty (preaching) pp. 113-118.</p> <p>15. "How You Benefit from Pursuing Godly Devotion" describes the personal and communal rewards of 'getting to know God' pp. 119-125.</p> <p>16. "Do You Let Others Stumble You?" contains a pointed warning against allowing the behaviour of others to lead to criticism of 'the Society' or into openly displayed conflicts of personality pp. 125-127.</p>
March 1st, 1975	
<p>6. "The Bible -- A Book from God or from Man?" is actually a series of short doctrinal treatises 'proving' that God and God alone is the 'author' of the Bible pp. 131-150.</p> <p>7. "Life Free From Injustice -- Is It Just a Dream?" is a reaffirmation of the Witness goal -- eternal life in 'the New World' pp. 163-164.</p>	<p>17. "Lasting Gain from Living by the Bible as a Family" discusses family roles (husband as 'head' and wife as "help-mate) as well as the indoctrination of children pp. 151-158.</p> <p>18. "A Most Importance Observance" stresses the importance of Christian fellowship and communal worship on this most important annual occasion p. 165.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
<p>8. "Why So Many 'Christian Sects'?" describes all other 'Christian' religions, church and sect alike, as misled, apostate groups destined for destruction at Armageddon pp. 166-168.</p> <p>9. "A Grand Spokesman -- Who Is He?" consists of a doctrinal review of the nature of God pp. 173-176.</p>	<p>19. "Jehovah's Witnesses Gain Freedom of Worship in Portugal" treats the end of formal persecution in Portugal as proof that the news of Christ's Kingdom would be preached in all lands before 'the end' pp. 169-171.</p> <p>20. * "Working Night and Day to Make Disciples" is an urgent plea for 'stepped-up' preaching activity in view of the out-pouring of God's blessing expressed in the above article pp. 177-183.</p> <p>22. * "Working Whole-Souled in the Way of Life" is a sequitor of the above two articles with a special call for more full-time 'pioneers' pp. 183-189.</p>
<p>April 1st, 1975</p>	
<p>10. "Will We Feed Our Neighbours or Let Them Starve?" begins with a discussion of social doctrine based on caring for others but it ends with the strictly theological aspect of Jehovah as the only real solution to food shortages. And the 'solution' is the destruction of this world pp. 195-196.</p>	<p>23. "Coping With Shyness" provides suggestions for over-coming shyness as an essential aspect of becoming more effective 'ministers' in calling at peoples' homes pp. 197-199.</p>

<p>Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .</p> <p>11. "The 'Exceeding Sinfulness' of Sin" is a grand-slam attack against both church and state pp. 201-204.</p>	<p>Social Articles cont'd . . .</p> <p>24. "Minister on the Move" is an autobiographical account of life as a circuit servant emphasizing the joy of the position and requesting that mature members consider the possibility of becoming circuit servants themselves pp. 205-207.</p> <p>25. "The Voice of Conscience Within" * discusses the need for complete internalization of Witness values to develop a reliable conscience upon which to depend in making moral choices pp. 208-209.</p> <p>26. "Are You Guided by a Sensitive Christian Conscience?" expands upon the above article giving more detail in terms of the necessary content of conscience pp. 214-220.</p> <p>27. "A Highly Favoured Family -- Why?" discusses the members of Christ's biological family as excellent examples of dedicated 'Christians' serving Jehovah pp. 220-223.</p>
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Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
April 15th, 1975	
<p>12. "Who Is Jehovah So That All Should Worship Him?" reminds the readership that Jehovah is a jealous and vindictive God pp. 227-233.</p> <p>13. "Jesus Christ -- A Historical Personage" defends Jesus against accusations of fanaticism made by Albert Schweitzer pp. 249-251.</p> <p>13. "Rebellion Against God Comes to Light" discusses the current 566,771,600 members of the Roman Catholic Church as a direct outgrowth from dissent and apostacy in the 1st Century Christian congregations pp. 252-254.</p>	<p>28. "The Reason for Choosing to Worship * Jehovah" , very simply put, is that those who don't will be destroyed at Armageddon pp. 233-240.</p> <p>29. "Acknowledging God's Sovereignty Brings Benefits" discusses the immediate 'benefit' for Jehovah's Witnesses in terms of security within 'the Society' and looks to the future 'benefit' of a New World and eternal life in it pp. 244-247.</p> <p>30. "Does Human Leadership Deserve Your * Confidence?" warns against any involvement in 'worldly' politics pp. 241-242.</p>
May 1st, 1975	
<p>14. "Relief from Global Problems at Hand" seeks to impress upon the readership that Armageddon is very near and reviews the vision of a New World pp. 259-262.</p>	<p>31. "A Spiritual Awakening in the Land of the Morning Sun" presents growth in membership in Korea as a sign that the "Kingdom message" is being preached successfully throughout the world pp. 264-266.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
<p>15. "The Death of a God" claims that Christendom's clergy has elevated itself to 'God-hood' and then discusses the inevitable destruction of all clergy at Armageddon pp. 269-271.</p> <p>16. "Why We Have Not Been Told That Day and Hour" reviews 6,000 years of human history as formulated by 'the Society' and while it suggests that Armageddon cannot be far off, it does warn that the exact time remains a mystery to the end pp. 272-278.</p>	<p>32. "How Do You Accept Counsel" describes the proper regulation of relationships between parents and children and between individual witnesses and 'the Society' in accepting 'corrective counsel' aimed at keeping everyone on 'the straight and narrow" pp. 267-269.</p> <p>33. "How Are You Affected by Not Knowing the Day and Hour?" warns against making assumptions as to the exact time when Armageddon should occur so that "even if it should delay . . . confidently look forward to the reward that God will bestow upon you and all others who love him intensely from the heart" pp. 278-284.</p> <p>34. "A Contrast -- Missionaries With an Urgent, Lifesaving Work" urges that instead of worrying about <u>when</u>, Jehovah's Witnesses should use the <u>time</u> left to increase their preaching activities so that as many as possible can be spared when Armageddon does occur p. 205.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd	Social Articles cont'd
May 15th, 1975.	
<p>17. "Mary -- Blessed Among Women" argues against Mary's divinity and against the idea of her as a perpetual virgin pp. 295-296.</p> <p>18. "Faith in God Rewarded by Preservation" discusses the doctrinal belief that it is only as Jehovah's Witnesses that people can anticipate their survival of Armageddon and realize the goal of life everlasting in the "new world" pp. 302-304.</p> <p>19. "Eating and Drinking" states that, with the exception of blood, there should be no religious restriction on diet but also that nothing should be taken without appropriate thanks to God through prayer pp. 300-302.</p>	<p>35. "Applying Bible Principles in Business -- Does It Pay?" examines internal business 'rip-offs' by dishonest managers, staff and merchandisers which results in greater loss than that occasioned by shoplifters. This article demands that Witnesses be honest in their employment so as to create examples for the rest of the world and to please Jehovah pp. 291-293. .</p> <p>36. "Do You Willingly Accept Humble Tasks?" encourages interpersonal co-operation between members within their own families as well as within the congregation pp. 297-299.</p> <p>37. * "Appreciating Our Relationship With Jehovah" describes the appropriately 'thankful' attitude one must express toward God pp. 305-311.</p> <p>38. * "A People Zealous for Fine Work" puts emphasis on the proselytizing aspect of Witness behaviour necessary if one expects to be 'preserved' through Armageddon pp. 311 - 316.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
	39. "Ready For Every Good Work" urges members to constantly refine and improve their preaching work pp. 317-319.
June 1st, 1975	
	<p>40. "Millions Have Left the Churches -- Should You?" was designed specifically for external readers and describes why people leave churches. The article continues by describing why readers should join Jehovah's Witnesses in a manner which is definitely more social than doctrinal pp. 323-326.</p> <p>41. "How Valuable is Your Life?" was a personal appeal to members to retain close ties with the group in order to protect their individual, eternal lives pp. 328-331.</p> <p>42. "Are You Willing to Suffer Hardship?" was designed to prepare the Witnesses for intensified persecution expected in the near future emphasizing again the need to sustain close relationships with other Witnesses pp. 331-332.</p>

<p>Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .</p>	<p>Social Articles cont'd . . .</p>
	<p>43. "Rejoicing in 'The Fine Fight' of the Faith" reviews past 'heroism' among the Witnesses and encourages all to be brave in the face of future tribulation pp. 333-335.</p> <p>44. "Cultivate Intense Love For One Another" * recommends close supportive relationships among the Witnesses with examples of how such 'love' has saved the lives of members in politically volatile areas of the world pp. 336-342.</p> <p>45. "Love Covers a Multitude of Sins" * instructs members to ignore the weaknesses of others and to love all Witnesses if they wish to survive future trials pp. 342-348.</p>
	<p>June 15th, 1975</p>
<p>20. "What the Churches Do Not Tell You" was directed to the outside readers and discussed the Witness concept of God, Jesus, Life After Death, and involvement with 'worldly' politics pp. 355-358.</p>	<p>43. "Why Be Hospitable?" treats hospitality as an essential ingredient in the process of conversion as well as in the retention of close interpersonal relationships within the movement pp. 359-360.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
<p>21. "Stability Even Though the Nations Shake" sets out doctrinal beliefs concerning the end of all 'worldly' nations with the concomitant warning to keep preaching to the very end pp. 361-363.</p> <p>22. "Jerusalem in the Days of the Apostles" is an historical description of historical Jerusalem with which parallels are drawn to the contemporary organizational structure of The Watchtower, Bible and Tract Society pp. 365-367.</p>	<p>44. * "Keep Your Senses in All Things" addresses the issue of personal responsibility within 'the Society' and restates the need to watch other members to make sure that all stay in line for the ultimate reward pp. 368-374.</p> <p>45. * "Looking to the Future With Confidence" reassures the members if they follow the directions of the above article they can expect to gain God's favour and preservation pp. 374-380.</p> <p>46. "Giving God the Exclusive Devotion He Merits" informs members that it is only through 'the Society' that one can perform true worship pp. 380-382.</p>
July 1st, 1975	
<p>23. "Mideastern Events -- Do They Fulfill Prophecy?" suggests that tension in the Middle East could provide the spark to ignite Armageddon, <u>yet it also reaffirms</u> that speculation as to when Armageddon might start should really not be indulged in pp. 387-389.</p>	<p>47. "Christian Growth in the Philippines" demonstrates the 'fruitfulness' of unrelenting preaching to non-members pp. 391-393.</p> <p>48. "What Things Do You Desire Most?" details what Witnesses <u>should and should not desire if they wish to survive</u> Armageddon pp. 394-396.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
	<p>49. "The 'Holy Year' -- Is It Pleasing to God?" criticizes the Roman Catholic practice of observing 'Holy Years', noting that, according to Roman superstition disasters could be expected in their wake. This article is very pointed, appearing just four months before the 'significant' fall of 1975 in one of the Catholic Church's Holy Years pp. 397-400.</p> <p>50. "Coming to the Hearer of Prayer" * discusses both the need for and forms of personal and group prayer pp. 401-407.</p> <p>51. "Be Steadfast in Prayer" is more * specifically psychological in orientation than the above article to impress upon the membership the need for prayer in achieving their goals pp. 407-413.</p>
	July 15th, 1975
<p>24. "Where Will You Put Your Trust?" is a blend of historical events and prophetic visions offered as 'proof' of the Bible's 'authenticity' pp. 419-423.</p>	<p>49. "Steadfast Despite Persecution by the Clergy, Nazis and Communists" is a brief but emotional autobiography of one member's incarceration of 40 years in a concentration camp pp 423-426.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
<p>25. "Why Such a Costly Ransom Price?" is a straightforward doctrinal piece explaining that since Adam lost 'perfect' life, only another 'perfect' life could 'redeem' it so that man could again be perfect and live forever on earth or go to heaven pp. 429-432.</p> <p>26. "Getting Bible Events in Order" is a short review of Bible chronology according to Jehovah's Witnesses pp.446-447.</p>	<p>50. "Watch Out For Spiritual Uncleanliness" warns of both 'unclean thoughts' and unnecessary contact with 'worldly' people. Close association with other Witnesses is encouraged as the most effective means of avoiding spiritual uncleanliness pp. 426-429.</p> <p>51. "Applying God's Word in Our Own Families" establishes guide-lines for interpersonal relationships with the family, especially where young children are involved pp. 433-438.</p> <p>52. "We Appreciate the Young Ones Who Are Walking in Jehovah's Way" provides both a challenge to the group's youth as well as encouragement to remain close to 'the Society" pp. 439-444.</p>
<p>27. "Why Are Some Sins Unforgivable?" The unforgivable sin defined in this article is, in essence, becoming a baptized member of Jehovah's Witnesses then trying to 'back out' 459-460.</p>	<p>August 1st, 1975.</p> <p>53. "What Does the Future Hold For Your Child?" discusses the need to train children from infancy in the principles of Christianity as prescribed by 'the Society' pp. 451-453.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
	<p>54. "Divine Backing Removes Fear" tells members not to be afraid to do as instructed by 'the Society' even if it is forbidden by worldly governments because they have the divine backing of Jehovah for their actions pp. 453-455.</p> <p>55. "Kingdom Preaching -- What Impact in Catholic Spain?" reviews the historically dismal effects of the preaching activity of Jehovah's Witnesses in Spain with a focus on recent and <u>relatively</u> large increases in membership which is interpreted as the death knell of the Catholic Church in particular and of 'Babylon the Great' in general pp. 456-458.</p> <p>56. "Youth's, Make Your Life Worth Living" by becoming a 'preaching minister' for Jehovah's Witnesses pp. 461-463.</p> <p>57. "Who Qualifies to Become an Elder?" * examines the necessary behaviour and attitudes to achieve elevated roles and status within 'the Society' pp. 465-470.</p> <p>58. "Elders Presiding in a Fine Way" praises * the elders and demands obedience to them pp. 470-475.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
	59. "The Enduring Quality of Goodness" defines 'the good man' basically as one who brings people into 'the Society' and works to keep them there pp. 476-478.
August 15th, 1975	
28. "A Capital For the Universe" describes God's throne surrounded by Christ and 144,000 Jehovah's Witnesses pp. 490-492.	60. "How The Bible Can Help Your Marriage" discusses roles and communication within marriage vis-a-vis an eclectic assortment of scriptural quotations pp. 483-485. 61. "Argentina Receives the 'Good News of Peace' is intended to spur all Jehovah's Witnesses on in their preaching activity through tales of success in this South American country pp. 488-489. 62. "Do Not Let Yourself Be Sidetracked in * the Race for Life" warns of such evils as materialism and nationalism which can distract some and cause them 'to fall away' pp. 493-498. 63. "Do Not Let Yourself Be Ensnared by Fads * and Entertainment" is a sequitor to above article pp. 499-504.

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
	<p>64. "Do Not Let Your Faith Be Shipwrecked by * Discouragement or Personalities" continues the theme of the two preceding articles with specific reference to internal dissention and personalitiy conflicts as reasons for some 'falling away' pp. 505-511.</p>
September 1st, 1975.	
<p>29. "What Will Armageddon Really Mean for Mankind?" prophesies the violent end envisioned for all contemporary national governments contrasting them to the 'new world' which is believed destined to replace them pp. 515-516.</p> <p>30. "Jehovah Remembers That We Are Dust" reviews biblical references to God's mercy and loving kindness pp. 517-518.</p> <p>31. "Is Mary the Mother of God?" discusses Mary in the context of their non-trinitarian doctrine where she is mother of Jesus but not of Jehovah pp. 539-540.</p>	<p>65. "Christian Love Based on Jehovah's Love" * describes contemporary 'hate-based' national governments then describes the society of the projected 'new world' in terms of love pp. 520-525.</p> <p>66. "Have Intense Love for One Another" * establishes love among the Witnesses as a prerequisite to gaining eternal life in the new world and describes how that love can best be expressed pp. 526-532.</p> <p>67. "Upholding God's Truth and Kingdom" is an autobiographical account of preaching in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland and Liechtenstein during the two world wars pp. 533-535.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
	68. "Genuine Christianity -- Can It Be Found?" unequivocally states that genuine Christianity can be found among Jehovah's Witnesses and only there pp. 536-538.
	September 15th, 1975
32. "False Shepherds Dismissed from God's Service" refers to Christendom's clergy, not to errant witnesses pp. 553-555.	69. "The Blessing of Freedom of Assembly in Greece" is an account of triumph in a country where Jehovah's Witnesses were officially oppressed and denied rights of assembly prior to July 8, 1975 -- a change of law made just in time for a scheduled mass assembly on July 10-13, 1975 pp. 547-552. 70. "Do You Appreciate Your Blessings?" refers especially to the personal 'benefits' accrued as part of being a part of 'the Society" pp. 557-559. 71. "Have You Stopped Storing Up Treasures On Earth?" warns against 'materialism' which can divert one's focus from Jehovah and 'the Society' which are seen as the only true 'treasures' pp. 651-567.

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
	72. "Having Nothing and Yet Possessing All * Things" is a sequitor to the above article stressing that God's Kingdom ('the Society' and its vision) is all that is worth having pp. 568-575.
October 1st, 1975	
33. "The End of 6,000 Years of Man-Rule Approaches -- What Has Been Accomplished?" gives a dreary and pessimistic view of the entire period which leaves nothing but 'hope' for a 'New World' pp. 579-581.	
34. "Almost 6,000 Years of Witnessing For Jehovah" traces the history of Jehovah's Witnesses from Able, through all the 'faithful' of the Bible' to the contemp- orary activities of 'the Society' pp. 581-584.	
35. "6,000 Years of Grand Outworking of Jehovah's Purpose Toward Mankind" again reviews the same period, this time from the perspective of a series of prophetic 'coups' pp. 584-588.	

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
<p>36. "Things Which The 'Kindgom of the * Heavens' is Like" reviews the 'prophetic significance of parables creating a tantalizing vision of things yet to come pp. 589-595.</p> <p>37. "The Exposing of the False Kingdom Refuge" * is a complex and convoluted doctrinal invective against Christendom. This article has a 'profound tone' and serves to inform that even if they are about to be disappointed, there is no alternative pp. 595-604.</p> <p>38. "Flight to the True Kingdom Refuge" * treats 'the Society' of Jehovah's Witnesses as the polar opposite of all Christendom and repeats that it is the <u>only</u> route to the 'new world' pp. 604-608.</p>	
October 15th, 1975	
<p>39. "One World, One Government, Under God's * Sovereignty" assures member Witnesses that they <u>must</u> be on the brink of Armageddon and the 'new world' pp. 611- 616.</p>	

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
<p>40. "The One Government for One World Under * God's Sovereignty" further discusses the theme of living on the brink of the 'new world' and reassures the members that that government has already been established in heaven as of 1914 pp. 617-623.</p> <p>41. "How We Know God's Government Will Take Control Soon". This article was of critical importance in sustaining both membership and the vision upon which it was built. The necessary adjustment in the symbolic vision was stated as follows:</p> <p>"This generation will by no means pass away until all these occur" (Matt. 24: . . . it means that we are living in the "generation" that will see God's government smash to pieces all present-day human governments and take control of the earth's affairs" pp. 632-635.</p> <p>42. "Jehovah a Refuge for Millions" is a bolstering of prophetic certainty that even though October had come without Armageddon that the end of the world had to be near and that the Witnesses would soon realize their vision of a 'new world' pp. 636-639.</p>	<p>73. "Divine Sovereignty Assemblies Demonstrate Reality of Kingdom Rule" The following quote best articulates the point of this article:</p> <p>"at these assemblies there was visible evidence of the beneficial effect that submitting to divine sovereignty has in the lives of people. It gave substance to the promise of God's Word that Kingdom rule would unite people of all different nationalities and cultures now, even before his new order completely replaces the old." pp. 626-630.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
November 1st, 1975	
<p>43. "A Way of Life That Results in Happiness" reviews the Sermon on the Mount stating a strong doctrinal basis for appropriate social behaviour pp. 643-646.</p> <p>44. "The Time For Choosing God as Sovereign" * reaffirms that Armageddon is very near and directs the focus of concern to Jehovah himself and to 'the Society' as the only means of salvation pp. 658-663.</p> <p>45. "God's Judgments Reveal His Personality" discusses Cain, the flood and Babel as examples of divine wrath. It clearly warns that if the Witnesses wish to avoid punishment they must stick with 'the Society' pp. 664-666.</p> <p>46. "Miracles Jesus Performed in His Own City" are reviewed to assure the Witnesses that Jesus does have the power to destroy one world, create another and bring the dead back to live on it pp. 669-671.</p>	<p>74. "Let Anger Alone" warns against anger and dissent within 'the Society' under trying times pp. 647-648.</p> <p>75. "Mexico Gets a Rich Cultural Boost" credits Jehovah's Witnesses with Mexico's growing literacy rate claiming that 48,000 people have been taught to read and write by the Witnesses. (The ability to read is important to the indoctrination of people.) pp. 649-650.</p> <p>76. "Letting God Be The Sovereign of Our * Lives" reviews proper Christian behaviour and demands strict submission to 'the Society' for those who still wish to survive Armageddon pp. 652-657.</p> <p>77. "Do You Appreciate the 'Gifts in Man'?" discusses the vital role of the congregation and of 'the Society' in communication between God and man pp. 667-668.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
<p style="text-align: center;">November 15th, 1975</p> <p>47. "Events That Still Lie Ahead" discusses the need to keep preaching until Babylon the Great is actually destroyed at Armageddon pp. 681-683.</p> <p>48. "A God Who Merits Our Trust" reviews the Bible prophecies the Witnesses believe have been fulfilled as assurance that those still remaining will also be realized pp. 700-702.</p>	<p>78. "Be Kind to One Another" concerns the creation and maintenance of tight social bonds within 'the Society' pp. 675-676.</p> <p>79. "When Preaching is a Real Challenge" is an autobiographical account of the problems of preaching in the sparsely populated areas of Australia pp. 677-680.</p> <p>80. "Our Refuge Under the Incorruptible * 'Kingdom of the Heavens'" repeats the need to remain within 'the Society' as the only means to surviving Armageddon pp. 685-691</p> <p>81. "A Positive Commitment Required for * Those Taking Refuge" demands the reaffirmation of faith in the Witness doctrine concerning Armageddon is they are to remain in line for eternal life pp. 691-697.</p> <p>82. "Making Christianity Your Way of Life" reviews once again the required behaviour and attitudes for those who do remain within 'the Society' pp. 698-699.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
<p style="text-align: center;">December 1st, 1975</p> <p>49. "Profiting from Jonah's Experience" makes two major points: first, God wishes the wicked to hear his message in order that they might repent and be saved; and second, if one does not comply with this wish, the only way out is disaster pp. 709-712.</p>	<p>83. "Reasonableness Makes Life More Enjoyable" argues for 'moderation' in reaction to disappointment as opposed to dissent or righteousness pp. 707-708.</p> <p>84. * "Christian Greatness Comes From Serving" reminds the Witnesses that 'greatness' or rank is directly proportional to the amount of time spent 'serving others' in preaching pp. 716-722.</p> <p>85. * "Serving Unitedly as an Association of Brothers" describes another important aspect of serving in terms of keeping close social bonds with other Witnesses pp. 722-728.</p> <p>86. "What Does It Mean to be a Minister?" challenges the entire membership to increase and intensify their preaching activity pp. 728-734.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
<p data-bbox="230 1148 265 1538">December 15th, 1975</p> <p data-bbox="314 1447 635 2260">50. "The Giving That Really Counts" is a doctrinal review of Christmas as a pagan celebration to be ignored. It goes on to suggest 'unselfish' giving at other times of the year when such acts cannot be construed in any way as being tainted by pagan practices pp. 739-740.</p> <p data-bbox="661 1348 852 2260">51. "Christendom's 'Holy Place' Soon to be Desolated" is a doctrinal attack on the churches of Christendom with the repeated promise that their destruction is imminent pp. 741-744.</p>	<p data-bbox="314 380 513 1278">87. "Proving Ourselves Worthy to Enter God's New Order" repeats the need for good Christian conduct and continued preaching in view of the <u>apparent</u> delay of Armageddon:</p> <p data-bbox="517 367 956 1161"> "We take advantage of his tolerant long-suffering -- suffering that he is exercising toward this wicked old order of things". This article makes a very old appeal in considering that each delay allows mercifully for more people to come into 'the Society'. It also demonstrates an entirely uncharacteristic carelessness in that 'he' and 'his' when denoting God are not capitalized. pp. 745-751. </p> <p data-bbox="982 393 1052 1278">88. "The Kind of Persons Approved for God's New Order" ends with 2Pet. 3:10-14:</p> <p data-bbox="1060 393 1173 1252"> "Do your utmost to be found finally by him spotless and unblemished and in peace" pp. 752-758. </p> <p data-bbox="1225 367 1381 1278">89. "Christian Love Attracts Men of All Kinds in Nigeria" reviews the growth of 'the Society' in Nigeria to illustrate that preaching still pays pp. 760-763.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
	90. "Where Can You Turn With Confidence?" -- only to Jehovah's Witnesses and The Watchtower, Bible and Tract Society pp. 764-766.

Doctrinal Articles	Social Articles
January 1st, 1976	
<p>1. "The Beloved John Presents 'The Word'" reviews the content of the Gospel of John pp. 25-28.</p> <p>2. "What Is The Point of Life?" -- Living it as 'an approved servant of God' pp. 4-5.</p>	<p>1. "How Do You Value Your Life?" encourages Witnesses to behave as good Christians with focus on patience and loving-kindness if they wish to survive Har-Magedon pp.2-3 .</p> <p>2. * "Try To Be Like Him" encourages the Witnesses to be 'like God' since they are 'made in His image' pp. 8-14.</p> <p>3. * "Keep the Upright One In Sight" urges Witnesses to 'practice sexual morality and honesty' and 'Christian love' as a means of pleasing God and surviving Har-Magedon pp. 15-24.</p> <p>4. "Peace With Others Essential for Happiness" discusses the regulation of social relationships within 'the Society' pp. 28-30.</p>
January 15th, 1976	
<p>3. "The Creating of a New Earth" reviews scriptural quotations concerning prophetic visions of a 'new world' pp. 35-36.</p>	<p>5. "When Not to be Concerned About What Others Say" specifically warns against internal gossip and external ridicule pp. 37-38.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd	Social Articles cont'd
<p>4. "The 'Ax' and the 'Chopper'" is a doctrinal treatise on how God has historically used one nation to destroy another pp. 40-46.</p> <p>5. * "The Coming Deliverance from the Anti-Religious 'Ax'" draws modern parallels with ancient armies mentioned in the Bible. The article concludes that God will destroy all nations but 'his own' (Jehovah's Witnesses) as surely as he helped the Israelites destroy ancient enemies pp. 47-55.</p> <p>6. "Genesis A Basis and a Pattern" discusses sin and punishment as well as God's ultimate goal for man 'to be fruitful, fill the earth, subdue it and exercise dominion over his other creatures' pp. 60-63.</p>	<p>6. "Abuse Endured Results in Glory" reassures the Witnesses that there can be 'joy in the face of persecution' pp. 57-59.</p>
February 1st, 1976	
<p>7. "Freedom from Want -- Is it Impossible?" views the creation of God's promised 'new world' as the only way out of 'want' pp. 67-68.</p>	<p>7. "Contentment A Worthwhile Goal" encourages members to be content with what they have as a means of avoiding frustration pp. 69-70.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
<p>8. "Matthew's Good News -- The Messiah Come!" discusses Christ's role in 'ushering in' God's Kingdom both in heaven and on earth pp. 76-79.</p> <p>9. "An Age Old Conflict About to End" equates the biblical 'King of the North' to the U.S.A. and the 'King' of the South' to the U.S.S.R. , both destined to be destroyed at Har-magedon pp. 92-95.</p>	<p>8. "Keep Doing This In Rembrance of Me" discusses in detail who is to partake of the 'wine and wafers' stressing how few really can (hoping that the number won't go up again) pp. 72-76.</p> <p>9. "Continue Steadfast As Seeing The One * Who Is Invisible" discusses examples of 'the faithful' in the Bible as a means of 'seeing' God and increasing faith in Him pp. 80-87</p> <p>10. "All You Are Brothers" discusses the * need to act responsibly in caring for the needs of other Witnesses as members of one large 'Kingdom' family pp. 86-91.</p>
February 15th, 1976.	
<p>10. "Isaiah -- A Book Overflowing with Good News!" reviews the 'glowing restoration prophecies' of Isaiah pp. 125-128.</p>	<p>11. Do You Really Want Good Health?" states that the only way to have good health is to live good Christian lives now so as to 'enter the new world' where 'sickness and death will be no more' pp. 99-100.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd	Social Articles cont'd
	<p>12. "We Thought the System Could Be Changed" was written by two individuals who were involved in the social revolt in America during the late 1960's. They tell their story of conversion to 'the Society' based on the belief that ultimately only God can change the system pp. 101-109.</p> <p>13. "God Wants People to Live" urges the Witnesses to keep preaching to the very end so that more can be saved. It also reminds them that if they quit even they will not be saved pp. 110-112.</p> <p>14. "Jehovah's Friend or the World's * Friend -- Which?" states that there can be no compromise. People are urged to be 'Friends of God' by being actively preaching Jehovah's Witnesses pp. 113-119.</p> <p>15. "You Must Be Holy Because Jehovah is * Holy" presents another argument for proper behaviour pp. 119-125.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
March 1st, 1976	
<p>11. "Acts -- A Record of Bold and Zealous Witnessing" reviews the preaching activities of Peter and Paul as good examples for modern Witnesses pp. 141-143.</p> <p>12. "God's Mercy to Mankind in Our Twentieth Century" reviews the times in the Bible when Israel was saved by Jehovah and promises that Israel's modern counterpart, namely The Watchtower, Bible and Tract Society and all its members will be saved at Har-Magedon pp. 144-150.</p> <p>13. "God's Mercy on Display at Har-Magedon" * describes God's proposed saving of all Jehovah's Witnesses at Har-Magedon while He destroys every other human being as an act of mercy pp. 151-157.</p>	<p>16. "An Earth Without Pain" states that all Witnesses must take care not to cause another person pain if they themselves want to be worthy of the 'new world' in which Jehovah will allow no pain pp. 131-132.</p> <p>17. "Have Your Say in Your Heart" encourages Witnesses to exercise self-control in dealing with their 'brothers' to that none should leave 'the Society' over petty issues pp. 133-134.</p>
March 15th, 1976	
	<p>18. "What is Greatness?" -- faithfully serving God pp. 165-166.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd	Social Articles cont'd
<p>14. "Will Things Get Better?" presents the promise of a 'new world' suitable for outside readers. It concludes:</p> <p>"Surely we have good reason to want Jesus Christ as our King. Are you acquainted with his requirements for those who would be his loyal subjects? The group of Christians known as Jehovah's witnesses are eager and willing to help anyone to gain a better understanding of these requirements as contained in the Bible. Why not avail yourself of their help the next time they call on you?" pp. 163-164.</p> <p>15. "Ninevah -- Proud Assyrian Capital" describes the downfall of one 'enemy' of Jehovah.</p>	<p>19. "A Happy Family Life -- How We Achieved It" describes one couple's 'rocky' marriage, their conversion to Jehovah's Witnesses and their use of 'the Society's' Christian principles to create a happy marriage pp. 168-172.</p> <p>20. "Loyalty to Marriage Covenant Moves God to Mercy" discusses 'the Society's' view of the sanctity of marriage -- some doctrine, but basically a description of proper social attitudes toward marriage pp. 176-182.</p> <p>21. "Reconciliation Through God's Mercy" Before Har-Magedon" stresses the need to put one's life in order -- including one's marriage -- if one wishes to survive Har-Magedon pp. 182-189.</p>
April 1st, 1976	
<p>16. "When Hunger Will Be No More" describes the vision of the 'new world' in terms of one problem which will not be part of that world pp. 195-196.</p>	<p>22. "Keep the Poor in Mind" encourages old-fashioned Christian charity as one way to please God pp. 200-202.</p> <p>23. "Let Everyone Take Life's Water Free" restates the Witness goal of preaching to <u>all</u> people pp. 203-204.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
<p>17. "A God of Matchless Humility" is another character analysis of God based on an eclectic assortment of scriptural quotations pp. 197-198.</p> <p>18. "Jeremiah Magnifies Jehovah's Justice" is a basic review of the book of Jeremiah pp. 205-207.</p> <p>19. "The Worship of Jehovah is The Truth" attacks all other religious groups as agents of Satan the Devil designed specifically to lead the masses astray and deny them everlasting life in the 'new world' pp. 208-213.</p>	<p>24. "True Worship -- A Successful Way of * Life" assures the membership that as Jehovah's Witnesses they will enter God's promised 'new world' pp. 214-219.</p> <p>25. "There is Still Time to Turn to Jehovah" was written specifically for those Witnesses whose preaching activity was not great enough to ensure their survival into the 'new world' pp. 220-222.</p>
April 15th 1976	
<p>20. "Who is Jesus Christ So That We All Need * Him?" describes Christ's role in human destiny as 'the Savior' pp. 232-239.</p> <p>21. "Why We Need the Kingdom of Christ" * describes Christ as Jehovah's agent who will be responsible for restoring the earth to perfection and resurrecting the dead after Har-Magedon pp. 239-246.</p>	<p>26. "Is It Possible to Know About God?" describes, for the outside reader, the joys of being one of Jehovah's Witnesses pp. 227-228.</p> <p>27. "Patience Pays a Fine Reward" both in terms of interpersonal relationships and in terms of waiting for Har-Magedon without getting discouraged pp. 229-230.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
<p>22. "What Was The Length of Jesus' Ministry?" reviews the last three and one half years of Christ's life pp. 246-247.</p> <p>23. "Job Key To Why God Permits Evil" explains that it is God's way of testing faith pp. 252-255.</p>	<p>28. "I Lived To Fly" describes how one convert sacrificed a military career to become a Witness pp. 248-251.</p>
May 1st, 1976	
<p>24. "Where Can People Find Freedom?" states that one can freedom from sin and death only by becoming a 'slave of god' pp. 259-262.</p> <p>25. "Was There Really A Virgin Birth?" answers 'yes' and reviews appropriate passages from the Bible pp. 262-264.</p>	<p>29. "Generously Opening The Hand To Those In Need" treats 'preaching' as a 'sharing of gifts' and an essential activity for those who wish to please god pp. 264-266.</p> <p>30. "We Put God's Service First" describes experiences of a couple who have 'served faithfully' in various parts of Finland. It includes aspects of preaching during wartime suppression pp. 268-271.</p> <p>31. "The Tested Quality of Our Faith A * Cause of Praise and Honor" discusses persecution and internal dissent as 'tests' necessary to prove faith pp. 272-278.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
	<p>32. "Not Holding Our Lives Too Dear" states * that it is better to keep faith and die under persecution than to capitulate and live since the latter eventually leads to eternal death pp. 278-284.</p>
	<p>1. "Romans Good News for Jews and Gentiles" reviews Paul's writings in the Bible book of Romans in terms of what constitutes proper Christian behaviour within the modern congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses pp. 284-287.</p>
May 15th, 1976	
	<p>33. "Joy From Having Spiritual Needs Filled" describes the spiritual and social benefits of being one of Jehovah's Witnesses pp. 291-295.</p> <p>34. "Preaching Christ -- Through Envy or Good Will?" discusses proper attitudes toward the preaching requirements for Jehovah's Witnesses. The article states that the right attitude is one of genuine concern for the lives of outsiders pp. 296-300.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd	Social Articles cont'd	
	<p>35. "Life and Light Go Hand In Hand" urges * members not to become complacent about preaching since they have an obligation to 'spread the light' pp. 301-307.</p> <p>36. "Go On Walking as Children of Light" * discusses close ties with 'the Society' since one must absorb light if one is spread it pp. 308-314.</p>	
	<p>2. "Christians at Corinth Get 'Matters Set Straight' " is an explicit review of sources of internal dissent listed in Corinthians along with suggested means of coping with it. This advise is then discussed in terms of the modern congregation pp. 315-316.</p>	
June 1st, 1976		
<p>26. "Jehovah Our God -- Righteous and Just" * discusses God's plans for the world and his 'Witnesses' in terms of prophetic visions and divine justice pp. 337-343.</p> <p>27. "Glory -- What Is It? How Does It Affect Humans?" discusses the Greek word for 'glory' (<u>ka-bhोध</u>) which means weight or burden). The 'glory' of the Witnesses is preaching pp. 325-328.</p>	<p>37. "Generosity is Rewarding" because 'the generous soul will itself be made fat' (Prov. 11:24) pp. 323-325.</p>	

Doctrinal Articles cont'd	Social Articles cont'd
	<p>3. "Like Slips of Olive Trees Around My Table" reviews visions of man as part of God's divine 'family' and tells how to sustain intrafamily relationships now to reflect that relationship pp. 328-332.</p> <p>4. "Paul Urges Galations: 'Stand Fast In Christian Freedom'" carries the discussion of man's necessary relationship to God into the context of the world at large with specific statements concerning behaviour in dealing with the world pp. 333-335.</p> <p>5. "Look Forward With Confidence in God's Righteousness and Justice" urges the Witnesses to 'concentrate on what <u>we</u> have to do' and not to worry about when the need to preach might end if they wish to sustain a proper relationship directly with God and his divine plans pp. 344-349.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
	June 15th, 1976
	38. "Search For Truth Always Rewarded" discusses successes in the preaching activity in Brazil pp. 361-367.
<p>6. "God Is Not Partial" reviews the vision of a 'new world' with specific reference to scriptures which indicate that God wants the 'wicked' preached to and then encourages the members to keep preaching lest they too should be lost for failing to do what God has directly ordered pp. 355-357.</p> <p>7. "Why Jesus' Illustrations Helped People" reviews Christ's parables, discusses their meanings and utility in explaining issues then explains how the Witnesses should use similar illustrations in their own preaching work to help outsiders understand pp. 357-359.</p> <p>8. * "Ephesians: Unity Realized Through Christ" discusses the meaning of several verses of Ephesians with direct reference to their application within the modern congregation pp. 365-367.</p>	

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .		Social Article's cont'd . . .
	9. "Tyre -- A Treacherous City" describes God's propensity to punish treachery and directly applies the experience of Tyre to the modern situation and warns the Witnesses against any kind of treachery or dissent pp. 381-383.	
	10. * "How You Can Strengthen Others" is a series of specific references to ways in which Jesus personally 'helped' people each with an explanation of application to the Witnesses current preaching activities pp. 368-374.	
	11. * "How Humility Can Safeguard You" reviews Biblical examples of incidents in which humility saved human lives and urges the Witnesses to remember these and not to fall into the 'error' of dissent against 'the Society' which can lead only to 'being devoured by the Devil' pp. 374-380.	
July 1st, 1976		
		39. "Fine Workers at Home" praises the good Christian 'helpmate' and reminds Christian husbands to appreciate them pp. 389-392.

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
<div data-bbox="239 802 401 1739"><p>12. "The Destructive Power of Jealousy" reviews biblical examples, each with very direct reference to the contemporary congregation pp. 387-389.</p></div> <div data-bbox="427 843 624 1739"><p>13. "Paul Writes Philippians A Letter of Love" discusses in detail several passages of this Bible book, each with pointed application to the contemporary congregation pp.397-399.</p></div> <div data-bbox="670 843 826 1739"><p>14. "Loving Oversight Builds Up" describes the heirarchy of 'the Society' as based directly on principles from the Bible pp. 400-406</p></div> <div data-bbox="852 802 1208 1739"><p>15. "Shepherds of the Flock Under One Lord" carries the discussion of the previous article back to the time of Christ to further support the administrative structure of 'the Society'. It concludes by noting that Christ was the head of the first congregation and that he is still 'the head' through The Watchtower, Bible and Tract Society pp. 405-411.</p></div>	

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .		Social Articles cont'd . . .	
July 15th, 1976			
		16. "My Struggle To Be Best -- Was It Worth It?" is the story of an unnamed, Olympic Gold track star's conversion to Jehovah's Witnesses. It is unusual in that it goes into extensive detail concerning the doctrinal points which were critical to the conversion pp. 419-426.	
		17. "Colossians Counseled on Truth and Conduct" discusses appropriate Christian behaviour for modern Witnesses based tightly on several passages from Colossians pp. 444-446.	
		28. "A Look At Some Miracles of Jesus" was a simple review of the miracles of Jesus as described in the Bible pp. 428-431.	
		29. "Keeping A Balanced View of Time" is the * second and most critical reassessment of doctrine as it relates to the significance of 6,000 years of human history. The following quote expresses the main thrust of this article:	

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
<p>" . . . even though Bible chronology clearly indicates that we have reached the mark of 6,000 years since the time of the creation of the first human, Adam, it does not tell us just how long after that event the sixth creative day came to its close and the seventh creative period or "day", God's great rest day, began."</p> <p>It continues:</p> <p>" . . . that great rest day did not begin immediately after Adam's creation. Other events took place after Adam's creation but before the close of the sixth creative day. One of these is of most importance to all of us. That is the creation of the first woman, Eve."</p> <p>"How much time elapsed between the creation of the man and that of the woman? The Bible does not reveal this. It could have been a relatively short time."</p> <p>In considering Adam's reaction upon the creation ("This is at last bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh" [Gen. 2:23] they wrote:</p> <p>"This too could indicate that he had waited for some time to receive his delightful human counterpart".</p>	

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd. . .
<p>The overall implications for the Witnesses basic doctrine was summarized as follows:</p> <p>"What, then, does this mean? Simply this: That these factors, and the possibilities for which they allow, prevent us from saying with any positiveness how much time elapsed between Adam's creation and that of the first woman. We do not know whether it was a brief time such as a month or a few months, a year or even more. But whatever time elapsed would have to be added to the time that has passed since Adam's creation in order for us to know how far along we are within God's seventh 'day', his grand day of rest. So our having advanced six thousand years into God's seventh creative 'day' is quite another. And we do not know just how far along in the stream of time we are in this regard." pp. 432-438.</p> <p>30. "A Solid Basis For Confidence" reviews * major prophecies that the Witnesses believe have already been fulfilled to support the conviction that the prophecy concerning Har-Magedon will too pp.438-9.</p>	

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
	August 1st, 1976
<p>18. "The Greatest Crash" reviews the implications of having 'pride' in something other than God and how that kind of pride has brought destruction to many. It concludes with a discussion of 'pride' in the modern congregation which could possibly lead one astray and into destruction pp. 452.</p> <p>19. "Is Relief In Sight?" answers 'yes' after reviewing prophecies but carries a stern warning that if the Witnesses wish to enjoy 'relief' they must keep their attention focussed fully on Jehovah pp. 453-455.</p> <p>20. "What Will You Do In Face of Satan's Attacks?" reviews various forms of 'temptation' from a doctrinal perspective then discusses personal and group strategies for avoiding them pp. 464-470.</p>	
<p>31. "Catholics, Is Your Church 'On the Watch'?" is a doctrinal attack on the Roman Catholic Church pp. 460-453.</p>	<p>40. "Good News Reaches 'the Most Distant Part of the Earth'" describes 'the Society's' membership growth in Honduras as proof that prophecy concerning preaching is being fulfilled p.456.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
<p>32. "Charismatic Movement Fails to Measure Up" because people are listening to earthly leaders instead of to Jesus who is the head of Jehovah's Witnesses and of no one else pp. 475.</p> <p>33. "Thessalonians learn about Christ's Presence and Jehovah's Day" refers specifically to prophecies of Christ's 'parousia' or 'second-coming' pp. 476-479.</p>	<p>41. "Manifesting Faith Under Attack" * urges Witnesses to remain close to 'the Society' and to keep preaching if their faith is to endure to the end pp. 470-475.</p>
<p>August 15th, 1976</p>	
<p>34. "Jehovah A Helper Without Equal" discusses * the nature of God and its implications for 'believers' pp. 492-497.</p>	<p>42. "Mildness: Strength or Weakness?" reviews Bible quotations in which meekness is treated as a virtue with heavy emphasis on the spiritual and social benefits which are to accrue to Jehovah's Witnesses who exhibit meekness pp. 483-484.</p> <p>43. "The Best Forty Years of My Life" is another account of conversion pp. 485-490</p>
<p>21. "Do Not Be Afraid" * urges the Witnesses to carry on their preaching activities without fear in view of many Bible promises of God's help pp. 498-502.</p>	

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .		Social Articles cont'd . . .
	<p>22. "Baptism Only A Beginning" discusses doctrinal beliefs as to the significance of the public act of baptism by total immersion and the 'dedication' which takes place in the heart of an individual. It describes the personal and social obligations of persons who have publicly declared their dedication to do Jehovah's work pp. 504-508.</p> <p>23. "1 and 2 Timothy -- Fine Counsel for Overseers" is a specifically doctrinal review of the roles of the 'overseers' with suggestions for practical application within the existing congregations pp. 509-511.</p>	
September 1st, 1976		
	<p>24. "Self-Control -- A safeguard Against Disaster" reviews particular incidents in which because of God's own 'self-control' lives were spared and makes direct practical application to the regulation of congregational and other interpersonal affairs pp. 515-516.</p>	

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
<p>25. "Training Our Conscience to do More For Us" outlines the doctrinally specified contents of a good conscience as well as techniques to use in the process of internalizing those elements pp. 528-533.</p> <p>26. "Titus: Fine Counsel To 'Keep Healthy In The Faith'" discusses doctrinal principles contained in <u>Titus</u> as well as practical means for incorporating them into the contemporary congregation pp. 532-535.</p>	
<p>35. "Identifying the Bible's Jerusalems" makes a distinction between the 'earthly' Jerusalem and the 'heavenly' Jerusalem pp. 537-540.</p>	<p>44. "Help Youths to 'Become Examples to the * Faithful Ones'" discusses techniques for the indoctrination of children pp. 517-522.</p> <p>45. "A 'Large Door' Opens in Portugal" describes membership increases in that country pp. 524-525.</p>
	September 15th, 1976
<p>36. "What Was The Role of the Prophets?" -- to warn and inform people who want to please God in doing the right thing pp. 549-551.</p>	<p>46. "In Old Age I Found True Refuge" is the story of a 102 years old woman who became a Witness during her seventies pp. 553-555.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
	<p>47. "Joy in Ivory Coast -- A Result of Overcoming Difficulties" provides 'encouraging' details of growth in this part of Africa pp. 566-568.</p>
<p>27. * "The Tested Quality of Faith Works Out Endurance" reviews biblical references as to the nature of true faith, notes that such faith must be enduring, and discusses how contemporary Jehovah's Witnesses must endure faithfully to the end pp. 556-561.</p> <p>28. * "Let Endurance Have its work complete" discusses tests of faith yet to be endured and procedures to follow when under 'test' pp. 561-565.</p> <p>29. "Approaching God in Prayer" reviews doctrinal importance of prayer with advise on how it may best be undertaken by both the individual and the congregation pp. 547-549.</p> <p>30. "Hebrews: A Superior Worship and Its Requirements" reviews roles of 144,000 and of the 'other sheep' with practical advise to both as to how to fill their roles properly pp. 569-573.</p>	

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .		Social Articles cont'd . . .	
31. "Counsel -- Will You Benefit From It?" lists examples from Genesis through Romans noting the results when counsel was accepted and when rejected with emphasis on the Witnesses <u>always</u> accepting counsel from 'the Society' in general and the elders in particular pp. 573-575.			
October 1st, 1976			
37. "Creation's Testimony to The God of Purpose" gives examples of plant life as 'testimonies' to God's 'tremendous power and unparalleled wisdom' pp. 579-582.		48. "I Found Freedom in Prison" is the story of a man who became a Jehovah's Witness after finding and reading a copy of <u>The Watchtower</u> while in prison p. 587.	
38. "Let the Bible 'Speak" reaffirms the conviction that the Bible was directly inspired by God pp. 584-586.		49. "Tides of Change Bring Overwhelming Catch in Chile" discusses the high growth rate of Jehovah's Witnesses in this South American country pp. 588-591.	
39. "Appreciating The Treasure of Sacred Service" is a doctrinal definition of 'Sacred Service' pp. 592-596.		50. "Rendering Sacred Service Night and Day" * describes proper attitudes to preaching and suggests using a wide variety of 'opportunities' to engage it from acting like Christians as examples in the neighborhood to formal 'door to door' preaching pp. 597-602.	
40. "Cyrus, A Man With A Prophetic Role" describes the fulfilling of one prophecy according to the Witness' doctrine when the Persian Empire under Cyrus defeated Babylon in 539 B.C.E. pp. 602-606.			

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
<p>41. "The Book of James -- Exhortation to Practical Christianity" reviews Christian behaviour as described in the book of <u>James</u> pp. 604-606</p>	
<p>October 15th, 1976</p>	
<p>42. "The Worship of the "Wild Beast" -- Why True Christians Refuse" doctrinally identifies the beast and discusses its symbolic significance pp. 632-636.</p>	<p>51. "The Family Breakdown -- Facing Up To It" describes this problem in terms of its rate of increase in the general population pp. 611-612.</p> <p>52. "The Secret of Happy Family Life" * discusses behaviours and attitudes conducive to creating a happy marriage pp. 613-617.</p> <p>53. "A Worldwide Family Gathers for Sacred Service District Assemblies" describes the anticipated benefits of these up-coming mass meetings to impress upon the Witnesses the importance of attendance pp. 618-620.</p> <p>54. "What Does Youth Want Out of Life?" * discusses the need to help children want the right things and avoid the wrong pp. 621-625.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd	Social Articles cont'd	
	55. "What Has Brought Happiness To Me?" is a conversion story from Portugal pp. 628-631.	
	32. "The Apostle Peter Strengthens His Brothers" describes another aspect of appropriate Christian behaviour with specific reference to its incorporation within the contemporary congregation pp. 363-367.	
November 1st, 1976		
43. "Man's Hope for Peace -- Is It the U.N.?" is an attack on the U.N. for failing to bring peace to the world. It was designed for external readers who might feel frustrated at man's attempts to bring peace pp. 643-644.	56. "Proclaiming Liberty in the 'Land of the Free'" describes preaching activities in Thailand pp. 645-648.	
44. "Second Thoughts About The Immortality of the Soul" argues the Witness doctrine that God can and will destroy both body and soul pp. 649-652.		
45. "The Holy Spirit in Action" reviews the * Witness interpretation of Revelations pp. 656-661.		

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .	
46. "The Activity of the Spirit Poured Out * From on High" continues the above discussion with specific reference to visions of restoration pp. 662-668.		
	33. "The Beloved John Writes About Love" consists of a close intertwining of John's own description of love and its application to the modern congregation pp. 668-671.	
November 15th, 1976		
47. "How Far Should Kindness Extend?" presents the doctrinal basis for treating all people as potential converts pp. 675- 676.	57. "Sounding Forth Good News in All The * Earth" discusses various practical aspects of preaching pp. 685-689.	
48. "Was Mary Taken Bodily Into Heaven?" attacks the Roman Catholic view of Mary's 'assumption' pp. 677-678.	58. "I Found Something Worth Living For" relates Laurier Samur's experiences as a Witness in Quebec during the Duplessis years of persecution pp. 690- 695.	
49. "Glorious Good News From the Happy God" * is a doctrinal review of the promise of a 'new world' pp. 680-684.	59. "What Defense Against Defamers of True Christians?" -- good Christian behaviour and 'a positive presentation of the Bible's teachings,' is given as the best defense against defamers pp. 701-703.	
50. "A Revelation of Jehovah's Will and Purpose" continues the doctrinal discussion of the Book of Revelations pp. 697-701.		

Doctrinal Articles cont'd . . .	Social Articles cont'd . . .
<p>December 1st, 1976</p> <p>51. "Can an Image Bring Peace and Security?" The "Image" is the U.N. based on a statement by Dag Hammarskjöld: "The U.N. is a mirror of the world the way it is -- not the way we'd like it to be". The article then attacks the U.N. as the 'scarlet-colored' beast which arose from 'the beast with seven heads' referred to in Revelations and which the Witnesses believe will both be destroyed at Har-Magedon pp. 709-711.</p> <p>52. "Why A God of Love Gives Reproof" discusses the doctrinal basis upon which 'the Society's' discipline structure is built pp. 717-720.</p>	<p>60. "Why Restrain the Tongue?" discusses the need to avoid both hurt feelings within the congregation as well as the need <u>not</u> to say anything which could 'reflect unfavourably' on 'the Society' pp. 707-708.</p> <p>61. "Filling Columbia With the Knowledge of Jehovah" reports on the growth of Jehovah's Witnesses in this country pp. 713-716.</p> <p>62. "How Wise Reprovers Aid Erring Ones" * discusses the implementation of disciplinary action within the context of the congregation pp. 721-725.</p> <p>63. "Reproving Persons Who Practice Sin" * discusses the social problem of dealing with the person who <u>habitually</u> engages in unacceptable behaviour pp. 725-730.</p> <p>64. "Giving Reproof 'Before All Onlookers'" recommends that 'those persisting in sin' be publicly reproofed before the entire congregation so that 'the rest may also fear' of going the same route. The individual need not be named unless the sin is 'scandalous' pp. 730-735.</p>

Doctrinal Articles cont'd	Social Articles cont'd
December 15th, 1976	
<p>53. "Hold On -- The Promise Nears Fulfilment" * argues for patience based on the doctrinal conviction that this generation (1914 and on) will not pass without Har-Magedon occurring pp. 744-750.</p> <p>54. "The Promise Fulfilled To Doers Of * God's Will" reviews prophetic visions which project 144,000 Witnesses into heaven and create for the remaining 'other sheep' a paradise on earth' in which to live forever pp. 751-755.</p> <p>55. "Gain The Promised Eternal Life -- * Exercise Faith" is a further description of the destruction of the wicked at Har-Magedon and the promise of 'a new world' pp. 755-760.</p>	<p>65. "Will You Shun Ambition?" first discusses overweening ambition as an evil of the 'world' then warns against members of 'the Society' ambitiously seeking positions as overseers or elders when they should wait humbly to be appointed pp. 740-742.</p> <p>66. "Happy Youths In A Mixed-Up World" describes the benefits of young Witnesses staying close to 'the Society' by means of reviewing the 1976 book produced by 'the Society', <u>Your Youth -- Getting The Best Out of It</u> pp. 761-763.</p> <p>67. "The Power of God's Work in My Life" describes the conversion of a drug user pp. 764-765.</p>

APPENDIX G

The following chart of "Significant Dates" is presented as it appeared in the 1966 publication *Life Everlasting in Freedom of the Sons of God*, pages 31-35.

CHART OF SIGNIFICANT DATES FROM MAN'S CREATION TO 7000 A.M.			
DATE B.C.E.	DATE ANNO MUNDI	EVENT	REFERENCE
4028		Creation of Adam (In early autumn)	Gen. 2: 7
3896	120	Birth of Seth	Gen. 5: 3
3096	930	Death of Adam	Gen. 5: 5
3028	1000	End of 1st 1,000-year day of man's existence	
2970	1056	Birth of Noah	Gen. 5: 28, 29
2468	1558	Birth of Shem	Gen. 11: 10
2370	1656	Methuseiah dies in this year; floodwaters fall (In November)	Gen. 5: 27; Gen. 7: 8, 11
2369	1657	Flood subsides; God gives Law on sanctity of blood	Gen. 9: 4-8
2368	1658	Birth of Arpachshad	Gen. 11: 10
c. 2239	1787	Founding of Babel; beast comes out of sea	Gen. 10: 8-12; Rev. 13
2028	2000	End of 2d 1,000-year day of man's existence	
2018	2008	Birth of Abraham	Gen. 11:32; 12: 4
1943	2083	Abrahamic covenant made	Gen. 12: 4, 7
1918	2108	Birth of Isaac; beginning of the "about 450 years"	Gen. 21: 2, 5; Acts 13: 17-20
1913	2113	Isaac weaned (age 5); Ishmael (age 19) taunts Isaac; beginning of 400-year affliction	Gen. 21: 8; 15: 13; Acts 7: 8
1858	2168	Birth of Esau and Jacob	Gen. 25: 23
1737	2289	Joseph made prime minister of Egypt	Gen. 41: 40, 48
1728	2298	Jacob and family move to Egypt	Gen. 47: 9
a. 1600	a. 2428	Egypt prominent as First World Power	Ex. 1: 8
1593	2433	Birth of Moses	Deut. 34: 7
1513	2513	Passover; Israel leaves Egypt; end of 400-year affliction; Law covenant made at Sinai	Ex. 12: 12, 40, 41; Gen. 15: 13, 14; Ex. 24: 8-8

CHART OF SIGNIFICANT DATES FROM MAN'S CREATION TO 7000 A.M.

DATE B.C.E.	DATE ANNO MUNDI	EVENT	REFERENCE
1473	2553	Israel enters Canaan under Joshua; count for Jubilee years begins Tishri (Ethanim) 10	Josh. 5: 6; Lev. 25
1467	2559	End of Joshua's war operations in Canaan; end of the "about 450 years" of Acts 13: 17-20; first sabbath year for Israel begins (in fall); 350-year period of Judges begins	Josh. 11: 23; 14: 7, 10-15; Lev. 25: 1-7
1424	2602	First Jubilee year begins Tishri (Ethanim) 10	Lev. 25: 8-12
1117	2909	Saul anointed as king of Israel	1 Sam. 10: 24
1077	2949	David becomes king	Acts 13: 21, 22
1037	2989	Solomon succeeds David as king	1 Kl. 2: 11, 12
1034	2992	Construction of Solomon's temple begins in his 4th year (in spring)	1 Kl. 6: 1
1028	3000	End of 3d 1,000-year day of man's existence	
997	3029	Rehoboam succeeds Solomon as king; 10 tribes secede	1 Kl. 11: 42, 43
740	3236	Assyria, Second World Power, subjugates Israel, takes Samaria	2 Kl. 17: 6, 13, 18
625	3401	Nebuchadnezzar rules as king of Babylon, Third World Power	Jer. 25: 1
624	3402	17th Jubilee begins	Lev. 25
617	3409	Nebuchadnezzar takes first Jewish captives to Babylon	2 Kl. 24: 12-18
607	3419	Nebuchadnezzar takes Jerusalem by siege	2 Kl. 25:3-7
607	3419	Temple razed, Jerusalem destroyed (5th month); abandoned (7th month); 70-year desolation begins; Seven Gentile Times begin to count	2 Kl. 25: 8-10; Jer. 52:12-14; 2 Kl. 25: 25, 26
539	3487	Babylon falls to Medes and Persians; Medo-Persia becomes Fourth World Power; Darius rules	Dan. 5: 30, 31
537	3489	Cyrus the Persian (in first year) decrees return of Jews	2 Chron. 36: 22, 23
516	3510	Zerubbabel completes second temple	Ezra 6: 14, 15
455	3571	Jerusalem's walls built by Nehemiah; 70 weeks of Dan. 9: 24 begin fulfillment	Neh. 1: 1; 2: 1, 11; 6: 15; Dan. 9: 24
332	3694	Greece, Fifth World Power, rules Judea	Dan. 8: 21
63	3963	Rome, Sixth World Power, rules Judea	John 19: 15; Rev. 17: 10
25	4000	End of 4th 1,000-year day of man's existence	
2	4024	Birth of John the Baptist and Jesus	Luke 1: 60; 2: 7
29	4054	(Fall) Jesus baptized, anointed; end of 69th "week" of Dan. 9: 24	Luke 3: 1, 2, 23
33	4058	Nisan 14, Jesus sets up Lord's Supper; Impaled; middle of 70th "week" of Dan. 9: 24	Luke 22: 20; 23: 33
		Nisan 16, Jesus resurrected; Sivan 6, Pentecost; outpouring of holy spirit; Christian congregation founded; Peter uses first key	Matt. 28: 1-10; Acts 2: 1-4, 14
36	4061	Peter uses 2d key; Roman centurion Cornelius anointed, baptized; end of the 70 weeks of years	Acts 10: 34-48
c. 49	4074	Jerusalem council of apostles and older men decrees against blood and things strangled	Acts 15
70	4095	Jerusalem and temple destroyed by the Romans	Dan. 9: 27; Luke 19: 42-44

CHART OF SIGNIFICANT DATES FROM MAN'S CREATION TO 7000 A.M.

DATE C.E.	DATE ANNO MUNDI	EVENT
73	4098	Last Jewish fortress, Masada, falls to Romans
c. 100	4125	John, last of the apostles, dies 2 Thess. 2: 7
131	4256	Emperor Hadrian rebuilds Jerusalem, making it a Roman colony called Ælia Capitolina
325	4350	Roman Emperor Constantine, Pontifex Maximus, convokes first general council of bishops at Nicaea
378	4403	Damasus, bishop of Rome, takes over title of Pontifex Maximus
386	4411	Augustine is converted to Roman Catholicism
800	4825	Pope Leo III crowns King Charles (Charlemagne)
975	5000	End of 5th 1,000-year day of man's existence
1492	5517	Pope Innocent VIII dies after a blood transfusion
1530	5555	Protestant League of Schmalkald is entered into
1763	5788	Great Britain emerges as Seventh World Power
1806	5831	End of Holy Roman Empire
1879	5904	(July) First number of Zion's Watch Tower is published
1884	5909	Zion's Watch Tower Tract Society (now Watch Tower Bible & Tract Society of Pa.) is legally chartered
1914	5939	(October) Gentile Times end; World War I rages
1916	5941	The Watch Tower (Jan. 1) declares for Christian neutrality
1918	5943	First use of stored blood, by professor of medicine, University of Chicago; Watch Tower Society representatives imprisoned (June); World War I ends in November
1919	5944	(March) Watch Tower Society representatives released, exonerated the following year
1920	5945	League of Nations begins its sessions as Eighth World Power
1927	5952	The Watchtower (Dec. 15) declares bloodshed a reason for God's vengeance at Armageddon—Gen. 9: 3, 4
1931	5956	(July 26) The name "Jehovah's witnesses" embraced
1935	5960	"Great Crowd" of Revelation 7: 9-17 identified at Washington (D.C.) assembly and in The Watchtower
1937	5962	First blood bank on a large scale established at Cook County Hospital
1938	5963	Theocratic organization of Jehovah's Christian witnesses completed
1939	5964	(September) World War II begins; League of Nations goes into inactivity
1945	5970	The Watchtower (July 1) exposes blood transfusion—Ps. 16: 4 (September) World War II ends; (October) United Nations Organization ratified
1957	5982	(October) Russia sends up first satellite; causes world to fear
1962	5987	(October 11) Pope John XXIII opens Vatican Council II
1963	5988	Pope John XXIII, at Council, publishes encyclical "Pacem in Terris" in which he praises United Nations Organization. June 3, he dies despite blood transfusions
1964	5989	(May) "Spy satellites" and astronauts increase world tension
1965	5990	(October 4) Pope Paul VI visits United Nations Headquarters in New York city, endorses United Nations and confers with president of U.S.A. December 8, he closes Ecumenical Council Vatican II
1966	5991	Threat of World War III grows more ominous as between "king of the north" and the "king of the south." (Dan. 11: 5-7, 40) Expansion of organization of Jehovah's Christian witnesses continues, and international series of "God's Sons of Liberty" District Assemblies are scheduled to begin on June 22, in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Book Life Everlasting—in Freedom of the Sons of God to be released Saturday, June 25, 1966
1975	6000	End of 6th 1,000-year day of man's existence (in early autumn)
2975	7000	End of 7th 1,000-year day of man's existence (in early autumn)

APPENDIX H

A Letter Revealing Youthful Integrity

Dear Brothers:

Enclosed you will find a small sum of money. This is a donation from my sons, Timmy and Michael, ages 12 and 5. I'm sure they would like you to have it to put it to use in whatever way you can to further the Kingdom work.

Timmy was an avid proclaimer of the Kingdom and had many hardships to overcome in so becoming. His mother and I were separated and very soon thereafter divorced when Timmy was seven and Michael only six months old. Their mother was bitterly opposed to my stand for God's kingdom. Timmy, however, had a keen appreciation for the truth and strong desire to please Jehovah.

Their mother was granted custody of Timmy and Michael, therefore they were exposed to all the worldly customs and holidays. But Timmy's early Bible training and faith in Jehovah enabled him to make a firm stand, even at his tender age, for God's kingdom. And although I was not able to be on hand to teach Michael daily, Timmy, in the face of opposition from his mother, helped Michael to see and to understand that the customs and holidays that he was encouraged to participate in were displeasing to Jehovah. And due to Timmy's persistence and Jehovah's spirit, little Michael made his stand for Jehovah as well.

In due time, thanks to Jehovah, I found a mate, Ruth, with a young daughter, Holly—both loyal servants of Jehovah. And through the outworking of Jehovah's spirit we were able to gain legal custody of Timmy and Michael. We spent many happy hours in service, at meetings and in wholesome recreation as a family. Timmy and Michael and their new sister, Holly, now nine, continued to progress spiritually; Timmy to the point of having dedicated his life to Jehovah, with plans of baptism at the "Living Hope" Convention this summer (1979). All three children have been a great encouragement to Ruth and me.

One evening as we were returning from a particularly upbuilding Christian meeting, having learned of the faithful endurance of our Christian brothers in Africa, Timmy remarked: "I wish I could have the opportunity to prove my faith in Jehovah like our brothers in Africa. I'd be faithful to the end." I assured Timmy, "Just continue faithful to Jehovah in the small things—your meeting attendance and participation, your field service activity, incidental witnessing at school and obedience to your parents and authorities, and should you ever be faced with such persecu-

tion, Jehovah will enable you to remain faithful."

And thanks to Jehovah all our children have remained faithful in these small things. Timmy's goal was to "increase my service time now, so I'll have a good record when I apply for Bethel service."

When on occasional weekend visits to his mother's home in Beaufort, a neighboring city, Timmy always made arrangements to attend the Christian meetings on Sunday mornings. Early on April 29, 1979, on just such a Sunday morning, I was walking alone in our garden before our meeting. I was noticing the deep impressions in the moist earth—little Michael's footprints where just two days earlier he had walked through the middle of the garden to bury an earthworm that had somehow made its way to his room. It brought the thought of Timmy and Michael to my mind. They would be awakening soon to attend the meeting in Beaufort. I was hoping that Timmy had made arrangements.

But my thoughts were disrupted by a telephone call from their grandfather in Beaufort. He bore the bad news that little Timmy and Michael wouldn't be coming home anymore. Their embittered mother had shot them both to death in their sleep just an hour earlier that morning.

Needless to say, our family was torn apart with grief over our tragic loss. But our faith in Jehovah and our hope in the promised resurrection have enabled us to endure. We eagerly await the time when we will once again be able to work together, doing whatever Jehovah will have us do in his coming new order.

Please accept this small gift from them. This is all that they had to contribute in a financial way, and I know it won't go far, but their faith and the little works that they were able to contribute during their short term here have been deeply embedded in the hearts and minds of all those who knew them, and that goes a long way. If you had known them, and I'm sure that one day you will have that opportunity, I know that you would look forward to working alongside them in that coming new order too.

Christian love,
T. C.



APPENDIX I

SOURCES FOR THE TEXT OF THE NEW WORLD TRANSLATION OF THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

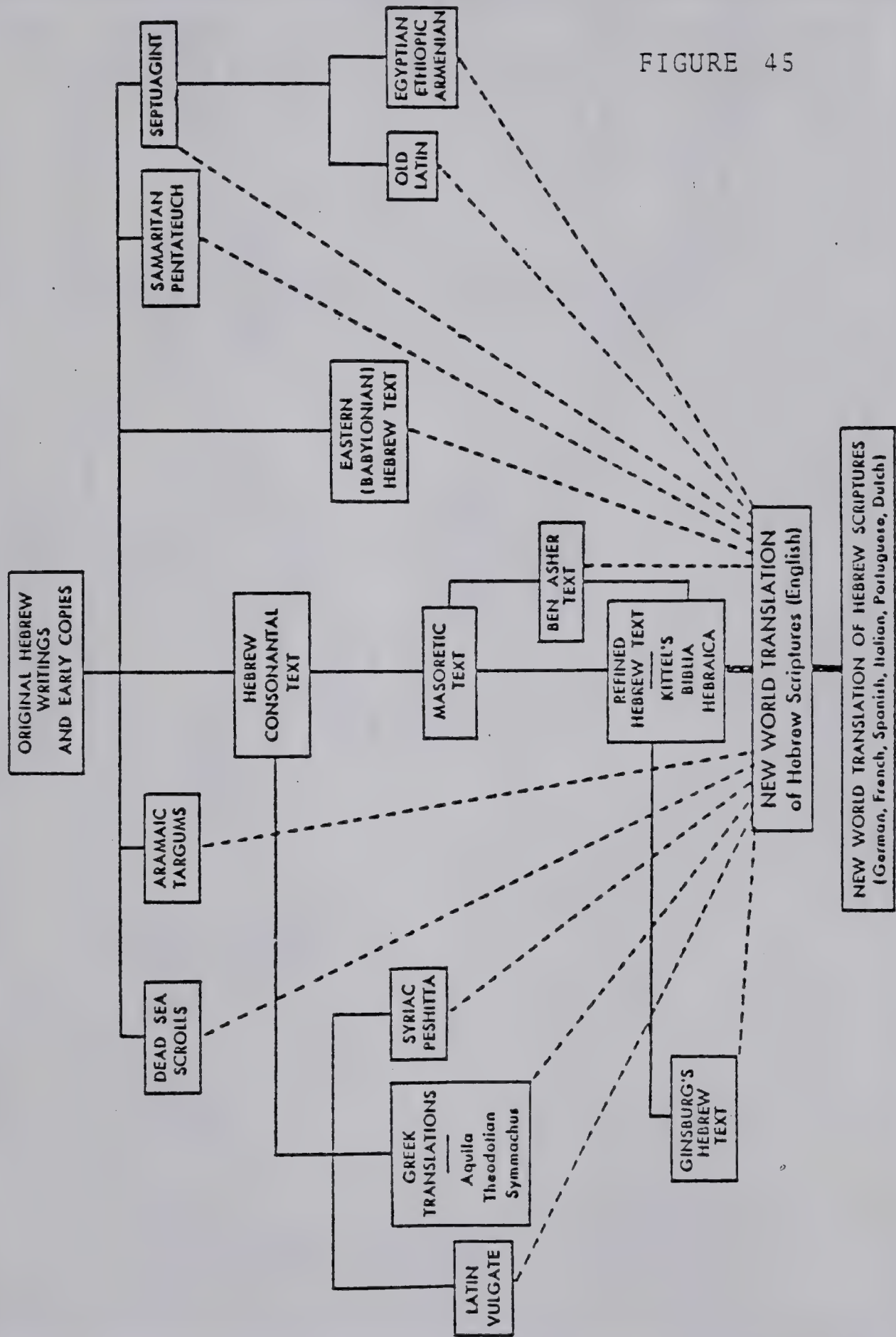
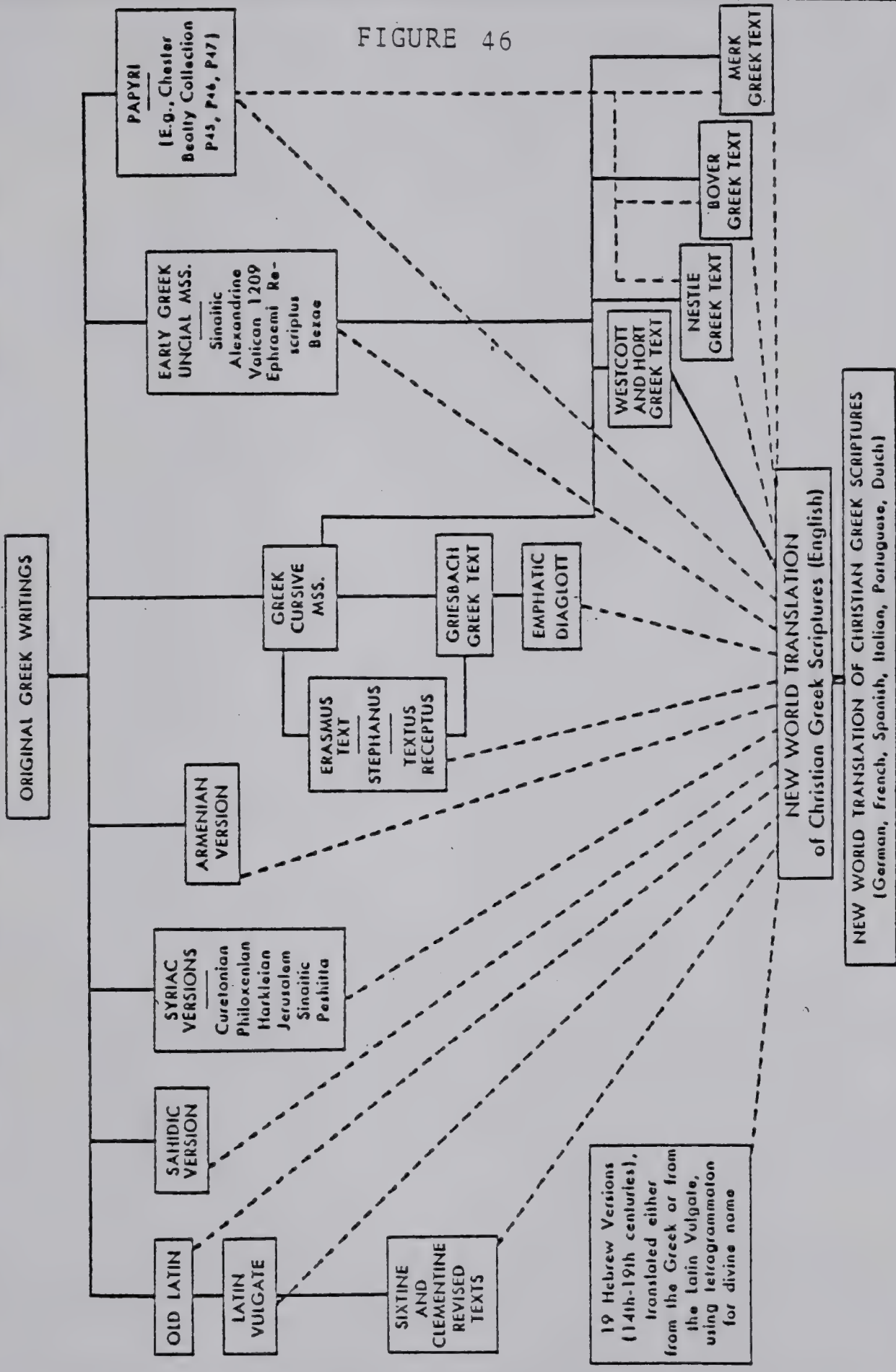


FIGURE 45

SOURCES FOR THE NEW WORLD TRANSLATION OF THE CHRISTIAN GREEK SCRIPTURES



APPENDIX J

THE DEFINING CHARACTERISTICS OF OPEN-CLOSED SYSTEMS

A Belief-Disbelief System Is

Open

Closed

A. to the extent that, with respect to its organization along belief-disbelief continuum,

1. the magnitude of rejection of disbelief subsystems is relatively low at each point along the continuum;

1. the magnitude of rejection of disbelief subsystems is relatively high at each point along the disbelief continuum;

2. there is communication of parts within and between belief and disbelief systems;

2. there is isolation of parts within and between belief and disbelief systems;

3. there is relatively little discrepancy in the degree of differentiation between belief and disbelief systems;

3. there is relatively great discrepancy in the degree of differentiation between belief and disbelief systems;

4. there is relatively high differentiation within the disbelief system;

4. there is relatively little differentiation within the disbelief system;

B. to the extent that, with respect to the organization along the central-peripheral dimension,

1. the specific content of primitive beliefs (central region) is to the effect that the world one lives in, or the situation one is in at a particular moment, is a friendly one;

1. the specific content of primitive beliefs (central region) is to the effect that the world one lives in, or the situation one is in at a particular moment, is a threatening one;

2. the formal content of beliefs about authority and about people who hold to systems of authority (intermediate region) is to the effect that authority is not absolute and that people are

2. the formal content of beliefs about authority and about people who hold to systems of authority (intermediate region) is to the effect that authority is absolute and that people are

not to be evaluated (if they are to be evaluated at all) according to their agreement or disagreement with such authority;

3. the structure of beliefs and disbeliefs perceived to emanate from authority (peripheral region) is such that its substructures are in relative communication with each other; and finally,

C. to the extent that, with respect to the time-perspective dimension, there is a

1. relatively broad time perspective.

to be accepted and rejected according to their agreement or disagreement with such authority;

3. the structure of beliefs and disbeliefs perceived to emanate from authority (peripheral region) is such that its substructures are in relative isolation with each other; and finally,

1. relatively narrow, future-oriented time perspective

This chart is from Milton Rokeach, *The Open and Closed Mind*, 1960: 55-56.

Witnesses face of turmoil — a

By PAUL DE GROOT
Journal Staff Writer

Jehovah's Witnesses face major changes in their organization and priorities in the next two years, predicts Gary Otting.

The Red Deer College writing instructor, who with his wife Heather has written a Canadian best-selling book comparing Jehovah's Witnesses to George Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-four, says the organization will be at a crossroads at the end of the fateful year.

Witness documents have strongly suggested that it will bring Armageddon. Their main publications, Awake! and the Watchtower, are full of images of nuclear holocaust, war and destruction, notes Otting.

The date is based on prophecies in the Book of Daniel regarding the time left for the world after the fall of Jerusalem. Witnesses now identify 1914 as the crucial year and the generation born then as the last on earth. Taking 70 years as the standard for a generation, 1984 is the final year.

"At the moment they seem to be really hung up on 1914," Otting says, despite the fact that archeological research done by one Witness puts the fall of Jerusalem 20 years later (in 587 B.C.) than the official chronology of the church.

The leadership's obsession with 1914 demonstrates its autocratic character, and its strict penalties for any who question its wisdom, the Ottings' book suggests.

If the predictions for this year fail, such questions will increase, he predicts, just as they increased after previous dates for Armageddon, 1925 and 1975, when many Witnesses quit their jobs and sold their possessions to await the end.

Jehovah's Witnesses believe this year will see Armageddon. Meanwhile, a succession struggle awaits as their leader is 93 years old.

At 91, the group's present leader, Frederick Franz, faces time pressure of his own.

When he dies, the leadership could fall to either the liberal or the conservative wing in the church, Otting says. The conservatives would continue to stress Armageddon and 1914, while the liberals would probably push the final date back at least 20, and perhaps as much as 43 years.

They might also open up the organization which now forbids participation in politics and holiday observances, and discourages university education for young people, in favor of "mental-regulating" by "Jehovah's organization."

But the average Jehovah's Witness will probably never notice any change in the inscribed articles in publications coming from their Brooklyn, New York, headquarters, Otting says. In practising their faith, members go over Witness publications "paragraph by paragraph, beating them to death."

"The average Jehovah's Witness tends to forget what has been said before. That becomes secondary to what is in the latest Watchtower."

The organization's tight control over the beliefs of Jehovah's Witnesses gave Otting a sense of déjà vu the first time he read Orwell's book, in which Big Brother, a distant, almost mythical force, exercises absolute control over the thought of his followers.

time author

"'What's new about this?,' I remember thinking. He seems to be writing about the world that I grew up in," Otting said in an interview.

The Ottings' book represents perhaps the most serious challenge to the church so far, because it has attracted outside attention (the first printing of 3,000 books was sold before the official release date; a second printing of 10,000 is planned, which will make the book a Canadian best-seller) and because it exposes inconsistencies in Witness documents over the years.

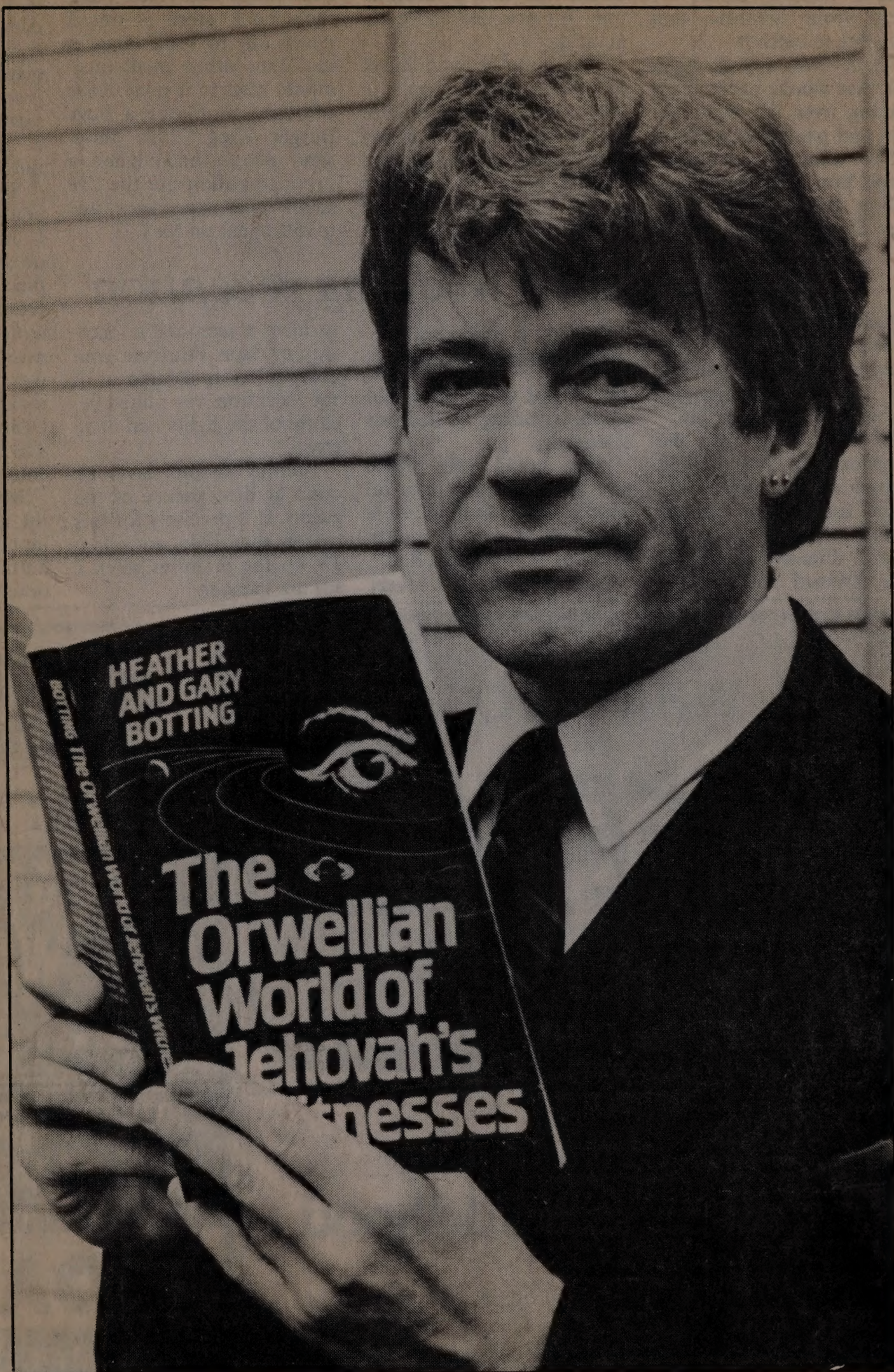
But the book is not intended to expose fundamental Witness beliefs says Otting, who still considers himself a member of the church, and still attends a Kingdom Hall. Moreover, the book written by him and Heather, an anthropologist, relies almost entirely on the writings and statements of Witnesses themselves to make its case.

"To deny the validity of our book is to deny the validity of their beliefs," says Otting, who sports a quite un-Witness-like pair of earrings in his left ear.

If Jehovah's Witnesses want to prove the Ottings wrong, the leadership will not "disfellowship" them — warn all their friends and relatives to have no contact with them on pain of being disfellowshipped themselves — Otting says.

That will show that the organization can withstand objective analysis. But disfellowshipping the Ottings will prove that the church is incapable of examination, and will brook no critical analysis.

"It's distressing to know that is how it has to be in an organization supposedly representing God," Otting says.



Author Gary Otting compares the Jehovah's Witnesses to Orwell's 1984 . . . the organization's tight control over the beliefs gave him a sense of déjà vu

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